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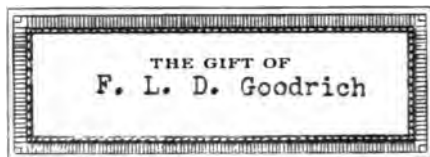
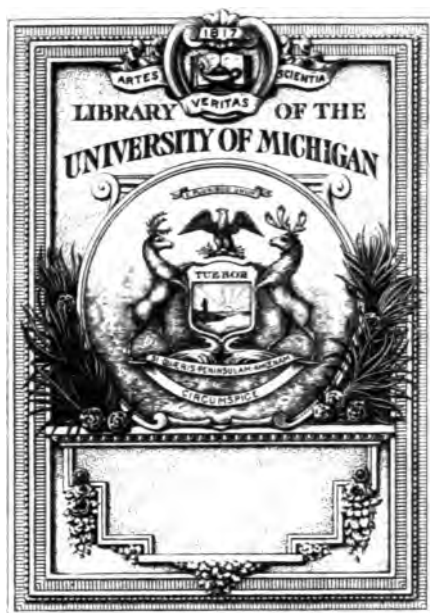
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THE WARS OF THE ROSES.

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"In history a great volume is unrolled for our instruction, drawing the materials of future wisdom from the errors and infirmities of mankind."—BURKE.

"Literature is the thought of thinking souls."—CARLYLE.

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\* Many of the passages in the historical plays of Shakespeare which illustrate the text of the present volume are referred to in the notes, and a few are themselves transcribed.



# CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION.		
THE HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORK .....	9	Houses and furniture. Food. Villanage. The nobility.
<p>The previous reign. The Wars of the Roses. Shakespeare's treatment of the history of this stirring period. Shakespeare's dramatic revivification of the period. Shakespeare's fable of the origin of the use of the White and Red Roses.</p>		
CHAPTER I.		
MINORITY OF RICHARD II. ....	18	
<p>Family of Edward III. General view of the reign of Richard II. Accession of Richard II. The Hundred Years' War. The rising of the Commons. The Lollards. The five "lords appellants" of 1387.</p>		
CHAPTER II.		
MAJORITY OF RICHARD II. ....	28	
<p>Richard declares himself of age. The inherited wars. The tyranny of Richard II., and its results. Henry Bolingbroke's arrival. Richard II. resigns the crown. The renunciation of the crown. Review of the reign of Richard II. The two Kings.</p>		
CHAPTER III.		
LITERATURE AND SCIENCE. ....	37	
<p>A literary epoch. Chaucer. Gower. The Lollards. Learning and Science.</p>		
CHAPTER IV.		
THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF ENGLAND .....	41	
<p>Growth of the Commons and decay of the aristocracy. Trade.</p>		
CHAPTER V.		
HENRY IV. ....	47	
<p>Henry's position in English history. Evils to be corrected. Death of Richard II. Purpose of the remainder of this volume. The Lancastrian period. Character of Henry IV. Visit from the Emperor of Constantinople. The Percies and Nevilles. Owen Glendower. The pretended Richard. The quarrel with the Percies. Henry's policy toward the Church. The Prince of Wales. Review of the reign.</p>		
CHAPTER VI.		
HENRY V. ....	58	
<p>Change in his character on coming to the throne. The affection of the people for Henry V. Greatness of Henry V. The Lollards. Claim to the crown of France. Shakespeare's presentation of the claim to the crown of France. The battle of Agincourt. Three great battles. Second invasion of France. Siege of Rouen. Treaty of Troyes. Henry's marriage. Signing the treaty of Troyes. Third invasion of France. Illness and death of Henry V. Greatness of Henry V. The funeral of Henry V.</p>		
CHAPTER VII.		
HENRY VI. ....	81	
<p>Accession of Henry VI. Bedford and Gloucester. Siege of Orleans. Battle of Herrings. Joan of Arc.</p>		

Marvelous stories about her.  
 Charles crowned at Rheims, July 17.  
 Henry crowned in England.  
 Capture of Joan of Arc.  
 Peace desired.  
 Marriage of Henry VI.  
 Death of Cardinal Beaufort.  
 Jack Cade's rebellion.  
 The Duke of York's plans.  
 Revolt of the Duke of York.  
 Protectorate of York.  
 Battle of St. Albans.  
 Character of the two parties.  
 The Duke of York claims the crown.  
 Battle of Mortimer's Cross.  
 Sir Owen Tudor.  
 Second battle of St. Albans.  
 Overthrow of the House of Lancaster.  
 Character of Henry VI.

#### CHAPTER VIII.

EDWARD IV..... 104

Opening of the reign.  
 Battle of Towton.  
 Marriage of Edward IV.  
 Warwick's enmity aroused.  
 Warwick's intrigues.  
 Warwick's flight.  
 Warwick and the Duke of Clarence invade England.  
 Flight of King Edward.  
 Edward's return.  
 Murder of Henry VI.  
 Quarrel between Clarence and Gloucester.  
 Clarence out of favor.  
 Clarence impeached.  
 Relations with Louis XI.

Death of Edward.  
 Character of Edward IV.  
 Literary character of the period.

#### CHAPTER IX.

EDWARD V..... 117

Accession.  
 The old nobility jealous of the Woodvilles.  
 Rivers and Gray.  
 Edward's coronation.  
 State of parties in England at his accession.  
 Sermon of Dr. Shaw.

#### CHAPTER X.

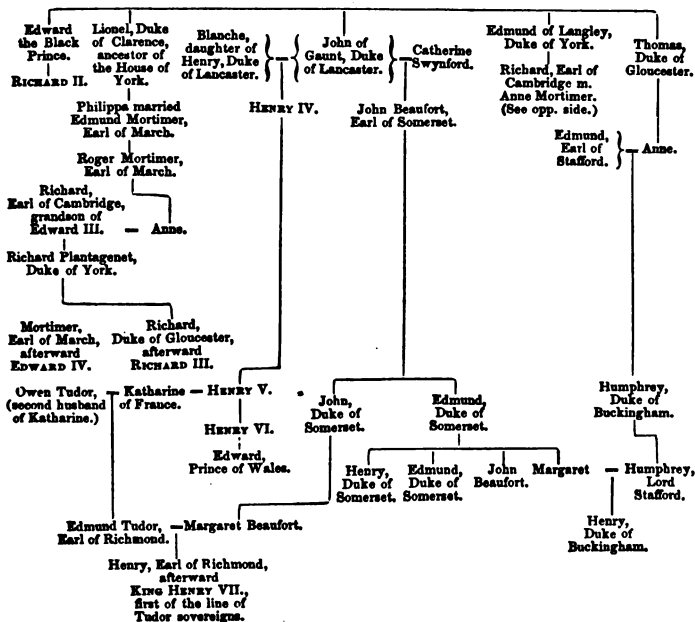
RICHARD III..... 121

Usurpation of Richard III.  
 Personal appearance of Richard III.  
 Murder of the Princes.  
 Richard's remorse.  
 Richard's progress through the kingdom.  
 Rebellion of Buckingham.  
 Plotting for the second invasion.  
 Richard's contemplated marriage.  
 Preparations to resist the invasion.  
 Richard betrayed.  
 Battle of Bosworth.  
 Speech of King Henry VII. after the battle of Bosworth field.  
 Character of Richard III.  
 Conclusion.  
 Parallelism between English and French history in the fifteenth century.  
 Burgundy.  
 The Turks.

## THE HOUSES OF LANCASTER AND YORK,

SHOWING THE RELATION OF THE PRINCES MENTIONED IN THIS VOLUME TO EACH OTHER,  
THEIR DESCENT FROM EDWARD III., AND THE UNION OF THE HOUSES OF  
YORK AND LANCASTER IN THE MARRIAGE OF HENRY VII.  
AND MARGARET BEAUFORT.

### EDWARD III.





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THE WARS OF THE ROSES.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE PREVIOUS REIGN.

The reign of Edward III. may be considered the climax of mediæval civilization and of England's early greatness. It is the age in which chivalry attained its highest perfection. It is the period of the most brilliant achievements in war, and of the greatest development of arts and commerce before the Reformation. It was succeeded by an age of decay and disorder, in the midst of which, for one brief interval, the glories of the days of King Edward were renewed; for the rest, all was sedition, anarchy, and civil war. Two different branches of the royal family set up rival pretensions to the throne; and the struggle, as it went on, engendered acts of violence and ferocity which destroyed all faith in the stability of government.—GAIRDNER.

THE WARS OF THE ROSES.

There is no part of English history since the conquest so obscure, so uncertain, so little authentic or consistent, as that of the wars between the Two Roses. Historians differ about many material circumstances; some events of the utmost consequence, in which they almost all agree, are incredible and contradicted by records;



and it is remarkable that this profound darkness falls upon us just on the eve of the restoration of letters, and when the art of printing was already known in Europe. All we can distinguish with certainty through the deep cloud which covers that period, is a scene of horror and bloodshed, savage manners, arbitrary executions, and treacherous, dishonorable conduct in all parties.—HUME.

In English history the well-known feuds that prevailed between the houses of York and Lancaster are called [the Wars of the Roses,] from the emblems adopted by their respective partisans; the adherents of the House of York having the white, those of Lancaster the red rose, as their distinguishing symbol. These wars originated with the descendants of Edward III.; and after extending over a period of more than eighty years of bloodshed and devastation, were finally put an end to by the victory of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, over Richard III., in 1485, the victor uniting in his own person the title of Lancaster through his mother, and that of York by his marriage with the daughter of Edward IV. Since that period the rose has been the emblem of England, as the thistle and shamrock are respectively the symbols of Scotland and Ireland.—BRANDE.

#### SHAKESPEARE'S TREATMENT OF THE HISTORY OF THIS STIRRING PERIOD.

The dramas derived from English history, ten in number, form one of the most valuable of Shakespeare's works, and partly the fruit of his maturest age. I say advisedly one of his works, for the poet evidently intended them to form one great whole. It is, as it were, an historical heroic poem in the dramatic form, of which the separate plays constitute the rhapsodies. The principal features of the events are exhibited with such fidelity; their causes, and even their secret springs, are placed in such a clear light, that we may attain from them a knowledge of history in all its truth, while the living picture makes an impression on the imagination which can never be effaced. But this series of dramas is intended as the vehicle of a much higher and much more general instruction; it furnishes examples of the political course of the world, applicable to all times. This mirror of kings should be the manual of young princes; from it they may learn the intrinsic dignity of their hereditary vocation, but they will also learn from it the difficulties of their

situation, the dangers of usurpation, the inevitable fall of tyranny, which buries itself under its attempts to obtain a firmer foundation; lastly, the ruinous consequences of the weaknesses, errors, and crimes of kings, for whole nations, and many subsequent generations. Eight of these plays, from Richard II. to Richard III., are linked together in an uninterrupted succession, and embrace a most eventful period of nearly a century of English history. The events portrayed in them not only follow one another, but they are linked together in the closest and most exact connection; and the cycle of revolts, parties, civil and foreign wars, which began with the deposition of Richard II., first ends with the accession of Henry VII. to the throne. The careless rule of the first of these monarchs, and his injudicious treatment of his own relations, drew upon him the rebellion of Bolingbroke; his dethronement, however, was, in point of form, altogether unjust, and in no case could Bolingbroke be considered the rightful heir to the crown. This shrewd founder of the House of Lancaster never, as Henry IV., enjoyed in peace the fruits of his usurpation. His turbulent barons, the same who aided him in ascending the throne, allowed him not a moment's repose upon it. On the other hand, he was jealous of the brilliant qualities of his son, and this distrust, more than any really low inclination, induced the prince, that he might avoid every appearance of ambition, to give himself up to dissolute society. These two circumstances form the subject-matter of the two parts of Henry IV.; the enterprises of the discontented make up the serious, and the wild youthful frolics of the heir-apparent supply the comic scenes. When this warlike prince ascended the throne under the name of Henry V., he was determined to assert his ambiguous title. He considered foreign conquests as the best means of guarding against internal disturbances, and this gave rise to the glorious, but more ruinous than profitable, war with France, which Shakespeare has celebrated in the drama of Henry V. The early death of this king, the long legal minority of Henry VI., and his perpetual minority in the art of government, brought the greatest troubles on England. The dissensions of the regents, and the consequently wretched administration, occasioned the loss of the French conquests, and there arose a bold candidate for the crown, whose title was indisputable if the prescription of three governments may not be assumed to confer legitimacy on usurpation. Such was the origin of the wars between the Houses of York and Lancaster,

which desolated the kingdom for a number of years, and ended with the victory of the House of York. All this Shakespeare has represented in the three parts of Henry VI. Edward IV. shortened his life by excesses, and did not long enjoy the throne purchased at the expense of so many cruel deeds. His brother Richard, who had a great share in the elevation of the House of York, was not contented with the regency, and his ambition paved himself a way to the throne through treachery and violence; but his gloomy tyranny made him the object of the people's hatred, and at length drew on him the destruction which he merited. He was conquered by a descendant of the royal house unstained by the guilt of the civil wars, and what might seem defective in his title was made good by the merit of freeing his country from a monster. With the accession of Henry VII. to the throne, a new epoch of English history begins; the curse seemed at length to be expiated, and the long series of usurpations, revolts, and civil wars, occasioned by the levity with which the second Richard sported away his crown, was now brought to a termination.—SCHLEGEL.

#### SHAKESPEARE'S DRAMATIC REVIVIFICATION OF THE PERIOD.

Shakespeare has probably done more to diffuse a knowledge of English history than all the historians put together; our liveliest and best impressions of "merry England in the olden time" being generally drawn from his pages. Though we seldom think of referring to him as authority in matters of fact, yet we are apt to make him our standard of old English manners and character and life, reading other historians by his light and trying them by his measures, without being distinctly conscious of it.

It scarce need be said that the poet's labors in this kind are as far as possible from being the unsouled political diagrams of history; they are, in the right and full sense of the term, dramatic revivifications of the past, wherein the shades of departed things are made to live their life over again, to repeat themselves, as it were, under our eye; so that they have an interest for us such as no mere narrative of events can possess. If there are any others able to give us as just notions, provided we read them, still there are none who come near him in the art of causing themselves to be read. And the further we push our historical researches, the more we are brought to recognize the substantial justness of his repre-

sentations. Even when he makes free with chronology, and varies from the actual order of things, it is commonly in quest of something higher and better than chronological accuracy; and the result is in most cases favorable to right conceptions; the persons and events being thereby so knit together in a sort of vital harmony as to be better understood than if they were ordered with literal exactness of time and place. He never fails to hold the mind in natural intercourse and sympathy with living and operative truth. Kings and princes and the heads of the State, it is true, figure prominently in his scenes; but this is done in such a way as to set us face to face with the real spirit and sense of the people, whose claims are never sacrificed to make an imposing pageant or puppet-show of political automatons. If he brings in fictitious persons and events, mixing them up with real ones, it is that he may set forth into view those parts and elements and aspects of life which lie without the range of common history; enshrining in representative ideal forms the else neglected substance of natural character.

But the most noteworthy point in this branch of the theme is, that out of the materials of an entire age and nation he so selects and uses a few as to give a just conception of the whole; all the lines and features of its life and action, its piety, chivalry, wisdom, policy, wit, and profligacy, being gathered up and wrought out in fair proportion and clear expression. Where he deviates most from all the authorities known to have been consulted by him, there is a large, wise propriety in his deviations, such as might well prompt the conjecture of his having written from some traditionary matter which the historians had failed to chronicle. And indeed some of those deviations have been remarkably verified by the researches of later times; as if the poet had exercised a sort of prophetic power in his dramatic retrospections. So that our latest study and ripest judgment in any historical matter handled by him will be apt to fall in with and confirm the impressions at first derived from him; that which in the outset approved itself to the imagination as beautiful, in the end approving itself to the reason as true.—HUDSON.

SHAKESPEARE'S FABLE OF THE ORIGIN OF THE USE OF THE WHITE  
AND RED ROSES AS INSIGNIA OF THE HOUSES OF YORK AND  
LANCASTER.

First part of King Henry VI., Act ii., Sc. 4.

SCENE.—The Temple Garden, London.

*Enter the EARLS OF SOMERSET, SUFFOLK, and WARWICK; RICHARD  
PLANTAGENET, VERNON, and Lawyer.*

*Plan.* Great lords and gentlemen, what means this silence?  
Dare no man answer in a case of truth?

*Suf.* Within the Temple-hall we were too loud;  
The garden here is more convenient.

*Plan.* Then say at once if I maintained the truth;  
Or else was wrangling Somerset in the error?

*Suf.* Faith, I have been a truant in the law,  
And never yet could frame my will to it;  
And therefore frame the law unto my will.

*Som.* Judge you, my Lord of Warwick, then, between us.

*War.* Between two hawks, which flies the higher pitch;  
Between two dogs, which hath the deeper mouth;  
Between two blades, which bears the better temper;  
Between two horses, which doth bear him best;  
Between two girls, which hath the merriest eye;—  
I have perhaps some shallow spirit of judgment;  
But in these nice sharp quilllets of the law,  
Good faith, I am no wiser than a daw.

*Plan.* Tut, tut, here is a mannerly forbearance:  
The truth appears so naked on my side,  
That any purblind eye may find it out.

*Som.* And on my side it is so well appareled,  
So clear, so shining, and so evident,  
That it will glimmer through a blind man's eye.

*Plan.* Since you are tongue-tied and so loathe to speak,  
In dumb significants\* proclaim your thoughts:  
Let him that is a true-born gentleman,  
And stands upon the honor of his birth,  
If he suppose that I have pleaded truth,  
From off this brier pluck a white rose with me.†

---

\*Symbols.

† There is no historical foundation for this scene.

*Som.* Let him that is no coward nor no flatterer,  
But dare maintain the party of the truth,  
Pluck a red rose from off this thorn with me.

*War.* I love no colors, and, without all color  
Of base insinuating flattery,  
I pluck this white rose with Plantagenet.

*Suf.* I pluck this red rose with young Somerset,  
And say withal I think he held the right.

*Ver.* Stay, lords and gentlemen, and pluck no more,  
Till you conclude that he, upon whose side  
The fewest roses are cropped from the tree,  
Shall yield the other in the right opinion.

*Som.* Good Master Vernon, it is well objected :  
If I have fewest, I subscribe in silence.

*Plan.* And I.

*Ver.* Then for the truth and plainness of the case,  
I pluck this pale and maiden blossom here,  
Giving my verdict on the white rose side.

*Som.* Prick not your finger as you pluck it off,  
Lest bleeding you do paint the white rose red,  
And fall on my side so, against your will.

*Ver.* If I, my lord, for my opinion bleed,  
Opinion shall be surgeon to my hurt,  
And keep me on the side where still I am.

*Som.* Well, well, come on: who else?

*Law.* [*To Somerset*] Unless my study and my books be false,  
The argument you held was wrong in you;  
In sign whereof I pluck a white rose too.

*Plan.* Now, Somerset, where is your argument?

*Som.* Here in my scabbard, meditating that  
Shall dye your white rose in a bloody red.

*Plan.* Meantime your cheeks do counterfeit our roses;  
For pale they look with fear, as witnessing  
The truth on our side.

*Som.* No, Plantagenet,  
'Tis not for fear, but anger, that thy cheeks  
Blush for pure shame to counterfeit our roses,  
And yet thy tongue will not confess thy error.

*Plan.* Hath not thy rose a canker, Somerset?

*Som.* Hath not thy rose a thorn, Plantagenet?

*Plan.* Ay, sharp and piercing, to maintain his truth;  
Whiles thy consuming canker eats his falsehood.

*Som.* Well, I'll find friends to wear my bleeding rose,  
That shall maintain what I have said is true,  
Where false Plantagenet dare not be seen.

*Plan.* Now, by this maiden blossom in my hand,  
I scorn thee and thy fashion, \* peevish boy.

*Suf.* Turn not thy scorns this way, Plantagenet.

*Plan.* Proud Pole, I will, and scorn both him and thee.

*Suf.* I'll turn my part thereof into thy throat.

*Som.* Away, away, good William de la Pole!

We grace the yeoman by conversing with him.

*War.* Now, by God's will, thou wrong'st him, Somerset.  
His grandfather was Lionel Duke of Clarence,†  
Third son to the third Edward King of England:  
Spring crestless yeomen ‡ from so deep a root?

*Plan.* He bears him on the place's privilege,§  
Or durst not, for his craven heart, say thus.

*Som.* By Him that made me, I'll maintain my words  
On any plot of ground in Christendom.

Was not thy father, Richard Earl of Cambridge,  
For treason executed in our late king's days?  
And, by his treason, stand'st not thou attainted,  
Corrupted, and exempt || from ancient gentry?  
His trespass yet lives guilty in thy blood;  
And, till thou be restored, thou art a yeoman.

*Plan.* My father was attached, not attainted,  
Condemned to die for treason, but no traitor;  
And that I'll prove on better men than Somerset,  
Were growing time once ripened to my will.  
For your partaker ¶ Pole, and you yourself,

\* That is, thy badge, or emblem. Theobald would read "faction," and is supported by Malone.

† Strictly speaking, Lionel Duke of Clarence was his maternal great-great-grandfather.

‡ Yeomen not authorized to wear arms.

§ As if the Temple, being a religious house, was a sanctuary, and a place of exemption from violence.

|| Excluded.

¶ Confederate. So Sir Philip Sidney, in his *Arcadia*: "His obseques being no more solemnized by the teares of his partakers, than the blood of his enemies."

To scourge you for this apprehension : \*  
Look to it well, and say you are well warned.

*Som.* Ah, thou shalt find us ready for thee still :  
And know us by these colors for thy foes,  
For these my friends in spite of thee shall wear.

*Plan.* And, by my soul, this pale and angry rose,  
As cognizance † of my blood-drinking hate,  
Will I forever and my faction wear,  
Until it wither with me to my grave,  
Or flourish to the height of my degree.

*Suf.* Go forward, and be choked with thy ambition !  
And so, farewell, until I meet thee next. [*Exit.*]

*Som.* Have with thee, Pole.—Farewell, ambitious Richard. [*Exit.*]

*Plan.* How I am braved, and must perforce endure it !

*War.* This blot, that they object against your house,  
Shall be wiped out in the next parliament  
Called for the truce of Winchester and Gloucester ;  
And if thou be not then created York,  
I will not live to be accounted Warwick.  
Meantime, in signal of my love to thee,  
Against proud Somerset and William Pole,  
Will I upon thy party wear this rose.  
And here I prophesy :—this brawl to-day,  
Grown to this faction in the Temple-garden,  
Shall send between the red rose and the white  
A thousand souls to death and deadly night.

*Plan.* Good Master Vernon, I am bound to you,  
That you on my behalf would pluck a flower.

*Ver.* In your behalf still will I wear the same.

*Law.* And so will I.

*Plan.* Thanks, gentle sir.  
Come, let us four to dinner : I dare say  
This quarrel will drink blood another day. [*Exeunt.*]  
I'll note you in my book of memory,

\* Opinion. So in *Much Ado About Nothing*, Act iii, Scene 4.

† A badge, says Tollet, is called a *cognizance*, from *cognoscendo*, because by it such persons as wore it upon their sleeves, their shoulders, or in their hats, are manifestly known whose servants they are.



## CHAPTER I.

## MINORITY OF RICHARD II.

## FAMILY OF EDWARD III.

THE English are apt to consider with peculiar fondness the history of Edward III., and to esteem his reign, as it was one of the longest, the most glorious also, that occurs in the annals of their nation. The ascendant which they then began to acquire over France, their rival and supposed national enemy, makes them cast their eyes on this period with great complacency, and sanctifies every measure which Edward embraced for that end. But the domestic government of this prince is really more admirable than his foreign victories; and England enjoyed, by the prudence and vigor of his administration, a longer interval of domestic peace and tranquillity than she had been blessed with in any former period, or than she experienced for many ages after.

Edward had a numerous posterity by his Queen Philippa of Hainault. His eldest son was the heroic Edward, usually denominated the Black Prince, from the color of his armor. This prince espoused his cousin Joan, commonly called the "Fair Maid of Kent," daughter and heir of his uncle, the Earl of Kent, who was beheaded in the beginning of this reign. She was first married to Sir Thomas Holland, by whom she had children. By the Prince of Wales she had a son, Richard, who alone survived his father.

The second son of King Edward (for we pass over such as died in their childhood) was Lionel, Duke of Clarence, who was first married to Elizabeth de Burgh, daughter and heir of the Earl of Ulster, by whom he left only one daughter, married to Edward Mortimer, Earl of March. Lionel espoused, in second marriage, Violante, the daughter of the Duke of Milan, and died in Italy soon after the consummation of his nuptials, without leaving any posterity by that princess. Of all the family, he resembled most his father and elder brother in his noble qualities.

Edward's third son was John of Gaunt, so called from [Ghent]

the place of his birth. He was created Duke of Lancaster, and from him sprang that branch which afterward possessed the crown. The fourth son of this royal family was Edmund, created Earl of Cambridge by his father, and Duke of York by his nephew. The fifth son was Thomas, who received the title of Earl of Buckingham from his father, and that of Duke of Gloucester from his nephew. There were also several princesses born to Edward by Philippa.—HUME.

#### GENERAL VIEW OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD II.

The reign of Richard II. is one of the most interesting in our annals. In this reign the great constitutional principles of our Government were most strikingly exhibited in their practical efficiency. In this reign the power of the Commons was more signally displayed than at any previous period, in demanding administrative reform as the condition of voting supplies; in the impeachment of those who were considered as the evil advisers of the Crown; and in strenuously insisting that the public liberties, secured by statutes and charters, should not be infringed upon by a king who had manifest tendencies toward despotism. At one period this despotism was nearly successful. For two years Richard was an uncontrolled tyrant. By what was unquestionably a national act, however accompanied by treachery and violence, the despot was deposed. In this deposition all the forms which might appear to belong to a more advanced state of society were most carefully observed. The king, who neglected the duties of his station and aimed at arbitrary power, was treated as a public delinquent; and the general good was set forth as the ultimate end of all government. But this reign is also remarkable for the great insurrection of the humblest classes of society against the remnant of feudal oppressions; and although the revolt was suppressed, and happily so, from that time the condition of the serf underwent a real mitigation; and as serfdom gradually became extinct, the free laborer, although subject to much injustice, gradually acquired some of the rights of an independent citizen. In the Revolution of 1399, which placed Henry IV. upon the throne, we no longer see the violent act of a factious nobility, united as a caste, but the result of a general agreement of various orders of society, having a common interest in the maintenance of freedom. In that Revolution, and in many other occurrences of this reign, we may trace the influence of a public opinion, emanat-

ing from men of different degrees, accustomed to manage their own affairs, and now more awakened than ever to think upon the relations in which the governed stood to the governing. How far the agitation of great religious questions impelled the political and social movements of the end of the fourteenth century is also an interesting matter of consideration. But we cannot look back from this period to that of the Norman Conquest, and still farther back to the Anglo-Saxon times, without being impressed with the constant operation of the law of progress—that law by which great changes of society are steadily effected as the minds of men become more and more capable of receiving them. Long before the feudal system had entirely passed away, the ancient Constitution was again and again modified by those principles which, without historical research, look like new elements of society. It was this gradual introduction of the popular element which saved England from the despotism which, in other countries, grew out of the institutions of the Middle Ages. One of the ablest reasoners of our time has said of the period of which we are now treating, “A multitude of analogies may be traced between the political institutions of France and England, but then the destinies of the two nations separated, and constantly became more unlike as time advanced.” To use the words of the same writer, it was given to the English “gradually to modify the spirit of their ancient institutions without destroying them.” The French lost the great principle of freedom when, at the same time as that in which the Commons of England would permit no tax to be levied without the consent of the people, the nobility of France suffered the Crown to impose taxes at its will, provided they themselves were exempt. “At that very time,” says M. de Tocqueville, “was sown the seed of almost all the vices, and almost all the abuses, which afflicted the ancient society of France during the remainder of its existence, and ended by causing its violent dissolution.”—KNIGHT.

#### ACCESSION OF RICHARD II.

While Edward yet lay on his death-bed, a deputation of the citizens of London waited on Richard of Bordeaux, the son and heir of the Black Prince. They offered their lives and fortunes in support of his right to the Crown, advised him to leave Shene, and to make the Tower his residence, and solicited his mediation to reconcile them with his uncle, the Duke of Lancaster. The young prince

(he was in his eleventh year) was instructed to receive them graciously, and to signify his assent to their petitions. The same day his grandfather died, and the next afternoon Richard made his entry into the capital. Triumphal arches had been erected; pageants were exhibited; and conduits running with wine displayed the wealth of the citizens, and exhilarated the loyalty of the populace. I will mention one of these pageants, that the reader may form some idea of the taste of our ancestors. In the market of Cheapside was erected a building in the form of a castle, out of which ran two streams of wine. On its four turrets were placed four girls, dressed in white, and of the same age with the king. As he approached they blew toward him small shreds of gold-leaf; then showered upon him florins made of paper, and, coming down, helped him and his attendants to wine out of cups of gold. To conclude the exhibition, an angel descended from the summit of the castle, and offered to the king a golden crown. Every street exhibited some pageant or device; but the merchants of Cheapside obtained the praise of superior ingenuity.—LINGARD.

#### THE HUNDRED YEARS' WAR.

It was the misfortune of the new king to find himself, at the very commencement of his reign, involved in an expensive war. The truce between England and France had expired before the death of Edward; and Charles had taken the opportunity to renew hostilities, and add to his former conquests. His fleets insulted the English coasts; the Isle of Wight was plundered; the town of Hastings was burnt; and though the enemy had been repulsed from Southampton by the Earl of Arundel, the maritime towns were continually exposed to their visits, and the merchants were impoverished by the interruption of commerce. In these expeditions the French obtained the co-operation of the Spaniards, whose hostility had been imbibed by the impolitic pretensions of the Duke of Lancaster in right of his wife to the crowns of Castile and Leon. With an exhausted treasury it was impossible for the new government to oppose the enemy on the sea, or to check his progress by land; the king summoned Parliament after Parliament to demand the aid of his people; and these assemblies, imitating those of the last reign, accompanied every grant with petitions, which procured the confirmation of the statutes already enacted, and led to the acquisition

of new and valuable privileges, still enjoyed by the House of Commons at the present day.—LINGARD.

#### THE RISING OF THE COMMONS.

In June, 1381, there broke out in England the formidable insurrection known as "Wat Tyler's Rebellion." The movement seems to have begun among the bondmen of Essex and Kent, but it spread at once to the counties of Sussex, Hertford, Cambridge, Suffolk, and Norfolk. The peasantry, armed with bludgeons and rusty swords, first occupied the roads by which pilgrims went to Canterbury, and made every one swear that he would be true to King Richard, and not accept a king named John. This, of course, was aimed at the government of John of Gaunt, who called himself King of Castile, and to whom the people attributed every grievance they had to complain of.

The principal, or at least the immediate, cause of offense arose out of a poll-tax which had been voted in the preceding year, in addition to other sources of revenue, for the war in Brittany. A poll-tax of fourpence a head had already been levied in the year 1377; but this time the deficiency in the exchequer was so great that three times the amount was imposed. Every person above fifteen years of age was to contribute three groats to the revenue; but to make the burden as equitable as possible, it was enacted that the rich should contribute for the poor, no one (except beggars, who were exempted) contributing less than one groat, or more than sixty. When, however, the first collection was made, which should have brought in two thirds of the whole amount, it was found not to have yielded so much as the former poll-tax. Commissions were accordingly issued to inquire in what cases the tax had been evaded.

The commissioners, however, set about their inquiries in a way which was not only calculated to give needless offense, but which was in many cases indecent and revolting. They soon found the whole peasantry of Kent and Essex banded together to withstand them. From village to village they mustered in hosts, putting to death all lawyers and legal functionaries, and destroying the court-rolls of manors which contained the evidences of their servile condition. And so in overpowering numbers they proceeded to Blackheath, where they are said to have mustered one hundred thousand

men. Their leader was a man of Dartford, named from his occupation "Wat the Tyler," whose daughter had been subjected to insulting treatment by the commissioners, and who had avenged the indignity by cleaving the collector's head with his lathing-staff. They had also with them a fanatical priest named John Balle, whom they had liberated from Maidstone jail, where he had been confined by the Archbishop of Canterbury. This man had been notorious for many years for the extravagance of his preaching, in which, however, he addressed himself to the popular prejudices, and seems in part to have adopted the teaching of Wiclif. Letters written by him in a kind of doggerel rhyme were dispersed about the country. At Blackheath he addressed the multitude in a sermon beginning with what was then a popular saying—

"When Adam daft and Eve span,  
Who was then a gentleman?"

from which he proceeded to point out the injustice of servitude, and the natural equality of men.

The appearance and numbers of the insurgents were so formidable that the king, although he had gone down the river in his barge to meet them and learn their demands, was counseled not to land. The multitude accordingly passed on through Southwark into London, destroying the Marshalsea and King's Bench Prisons. The Lord Mayor and aldermen at first resolved to shut the gates of the city against them; but they had so many friends within that the attempt to do so was in vain. When they came in they showed their hostility to John of Gaunt by setting fire to his magnificent mansion, the Savoy Palace. They also burned the Temple, and broke open the Fleet Prison and Newgate, liberating all the prisoners. At the same time their motives seem to have been free from dishonesty. Strict orders were given against theft, and one fellow who was detected purloining a piece of plate at the burning of the Savoy was hurled by his comrades into the flames with the stolen article.

But though for the time absolute masters of every thing, the triumph of the insurgents was short lived. For the very next day Wat Tyler had a conference with the young king at Smithfield, at which he displayed so much insolence that William Walworth, who was this year mayor of London, killed him with a blow of his sword. A cry immediately arose from the assembled multitude—

"Our captain is slain. Let us stand together and avenge his death." Bows were bent and arrows were about to be aimed at the king and his attendants. But Richard, who was at this time only in his fifteenth year, exhibited in the crisis the spirit of a true Plantagenet. Putting spurs to his horse, he rode right into the midst of the rebels, and said to them, "What, my friends, would you shoot your king? Do not grieve for the death of that traitor. I will be your captain and leader. Follow me, and you shall have whatever you please to ask." This boldness had a marvelous effect. The multitude, disconcerted, followed their young king into the open field. Still it was doubtful whether they would kill him, or accept a pardon and go home, when fortunately there came from the city a band of volunteers, hastily collected, under Sir Edward Knolles, an experienced captain in the wars of Edward III., which surrounded the insurgents, and placed the king in safety.

It was in the beginning of the year following these insurrections that the young king, having just attained the age of fifteen, married Anne, the sister of Wenceslaus VI., King of Bohemia, daughter of the last Emperor of Germany, Charles IV. On the eve of his marriage he granted a general amnesty to all but the leading insurgents, which was politically set forth as having been conceded at the request of his future queen. At the same time strong measures were taken, and commissions sent out, to repress and punish any future movements of the like description, which were only too likely to arise from the lenity displayed on this occasion. For, in point of fact, the evil influence of the rebellion was palpable for many years afterward. Government was unhinged, and authority was effectually weakened. John of Northampton, the mayor who succeeded Walworth, pursued a very different line of policy from his predecessor; and the city of London, influenced by Wiclif's teachings, usurped episcopal rights in dealing with offenders against morality. Two years later the same John of Northampton raised factious disturbances in the city in opposition to another lord mayor, and, being convicted of sedition before the king, was banished into Cornwall.—GAIRDNER.

#### THE LOLLARDS.

About the end of the year 1377 there arrived in England certain bulls—not the first that had been issued by the Pope, to denounce his teaching—against John Wiclif, a famous theologian at Oxford,

whose tenets, both political and religious, had created no small stir. Wiclif denied that the Pope or any one but Christ ought to be called Head of the Church. He treated as a fiction that primacy among the apostles which the Church of Rome had always claimed for St. Peter. He maintained that the power of kings was superior to that of the Pope, and that it was lawful to appeal from the sentence of a bishop to a secular tribunal. It was one of his cardinal principles that dominion was founded on grace, and that any one who held authority, either temporal or spiritual, was divested of his power by God whenever he abused it, so that it then became not only lawful but right to disobey him. This teaching shook to its foundation the view commonly entertained of the relations of Church and State, but it recommended itself in many ways to no small section of the nation. As early as the year 1366 it had become of value to the court; for the Pope had revived the claim made by the See of Rome for tribute in the days of King John, and while the papal pretensions were repudiated by the Parliament at Westminster, Wiclif defended in the schools of Oxford the decision come to by the Legislature.

Unselfish as his aim undoubtedly was, it was only natural that doctrines such as these should have recommended Wiclif to the favor of the great. Even in the days of Edward III. he was a royal chaplain; and in the very first year of Richard II. his advice was asked by the King's Council upon the question just referred to. On the other hand, he was naturally looked upon by Churchmen as a traitor to the principles and constitution of the Church; nor could he hope to escape their vengeance except by the protection of powerful laymen. In this respect the friendship of John of Gaunt was of most signal use to him; and it was shown in an especial manner not long before the death of Edward III. On that occasion Wiclif had been cited before the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London at St. Paul's; and the Duke of Lancaster not only took his part, but befriended him so warmly as to let fall some offensive expressions against the Bishop of London. But he had very soon cause to repent the indiscretion. The Londoners resented either the affront to their bishop, or the stretch of authority on the duke's part in protecting a heretic, and it was only at the bishop's own intercession that they refrained from attacking the duke himself, or setting fire to his palace of the Savoy.

Meanwhile, events had taken place at Rome which affected both



the political and religious condition of every country in Europe. Gregory XI., the last of the Popes who reigned at Avignon, had felt it necessary to remove to Rome in order to prevent the Romans setting up an anti-Pope. At Rome he died the year after his removal. Three quarters of the cardinals in the Imperial City were French, but another French Pope they did not dare elect. Their choice fell upon a Neapolitan, the Archbishop of Bari, who assumed the title of Urban VI. But shortly afterward a portion of the cardinals, pretending that the election had not been free, caused a new election to be made of Robert of Geneva, Cardinal of Cambray, who took the title of Clement VII., and once more set up a papal court at Avignon. Such was the beginning of what is known in history as the Great Schism. While Urban was recognized as Pope by England, Germany, and the greater part of Europe, Clement was regarded as head of the Church by France, Spain, Scotland, and Sicily. Religion was mixed up with the political animosities of nations, and crusades against the Clementines, as they were called, were proclaimed as if they had been directed against infidels. Nor was the breach in the Church repaired until thirty-seven years after it began.—GAIRDNER.

#### THE FIVE "LORDS APPELLANTS" OF 1387.

The Duke of Gloucester and his allies, the Earls of Arundel and Nottingham, had meanwhile taken the alarm, and having advanced to Hackney, at the head of forty thousand men, were joined the next day at Waltham Cross by Henry, Earl of Derby, the son of John of Gaunt, and by the Earl of Warwick. These five lords gave it out as their object to deliver the King from certain traitors who, they said, kept him under undue control, and, according to the phraseology then in use, they "appealed of treason" five of the King's principal advisers.

Richard had at first thought of resistance to this great armed host, but he soon found the city of London was not to be depended on. The lords gave out that the King's chosen counselors urged him to treat with France for aid to put them down. Richard, it was said, was going to sell Calais to the French king. The mayor of London told the king the city was willing to arm against his enemies, but not against his friends. Every-where the favorites were unpopular, and the Duke of Gloucester and his allies were looked upon as the true friends of the king and kingdom. The

city opened its gates to them, and the five "lords appellants" presented themselves before Richard in Westminster Hall, named the five councilors whom they accused as traitors, flung down their gloves, and offered to prove the truth of their accusations by single combat. The king, however, decided that the matter should not be so determined.\*—GAIRDNER.

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\* Arundel was tried and executed at Cheapside in 1397. Gloucester was supposed to have been put to death by the king's order. Warwick was exiled to the Isle of Man. Derby was created Duke of Hereford, and Nottingham was created Duke of Norfolk, both having regained the king's confidence for the time being.

## CHAPTER II.

MAJORITY OF RICHARD II.

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## RICHARD DECLARES HIMSELF OF AGE.

ON the 3d of May, 1389, Richard took the kingdom by surprise. Entering the Council, he asked to be told how old he was. He was three and twenty. When this was acknowledged, he announced that he was certainly of age, and intended no longer to submit to restraints which would be intolerable to the meanest of his subjects. Henceforth he would manage the affairs of the realm for himself; would choose his own counselors, and be a king indeed. Following up his brave words by action, he demanded the great seal from Arundel, who at once surrendered it. Bishop Gilbert resigned the treasury, and on the following day William of Wykeham and Thomas Brantingham returned to the posts of chancellor and treasurer. Some minor changes were made in the legal body, and the appellant lords were removed from the Council. The success of this bold stroke was as strange as its suddenness. According to the chronicler it was welcomed with general satisfaction. Whether it was that the country was tired of the appellants, or that all fears were extinguished as to the restoration of the favorites, it is impossible to say. Richard, however, acted with astonishing moderation. Although he contrived to ameliorate the condition of his exiled friends, he made no effort to recall them or to avenge the dead. Suffolk died the same summer in France; Robert de Vere never returned to England; the exiled judges remained for eight years longer in Ireland. In September a negotiation was set on foot for the admission of the appellants to the king's favor, and in the following November John of Gaunt returned home, and by a prompt use of his personal influence produced an apparent reconciliation among all parties. For eight years Richard governed England as, to all appearance, a constitutional and popular king.

The truce with France, concluded in 1389, was continued by renewals for short periods until 1394; and then prolonged for four

years, before the expiration of which the king, who lost his first wife in 1394, married a daughter of Charles VI., and arranged a truce for twenty-five years. The cessation of a war which had lasted already for half a century, intermitted only by truces, which were either periods of utter prostration or seasons of expensive preparation for fresh enterprises, is almost enough to account for the internal peace of England from 1388 to 1397.—STUBBS.

#### THE INHERITED WARS.

The wars, meanwhile, which Richard had inherited with his crown, still continued, though interrupted by frequent truces, according to the practice of that age, and conducted with little vigor, by reason of the weakness of all parties. The French war was scarcely heard of; the tranquillity of the northern borders was only interrupted by one inroad of the Scots, which proceeded more from a rivalry between the two martial families of Percy and Douglas, than from any national quarrel. A fierce battle or skirmish was fought at Otterbourne, in which young Percy, surnamed Hotspur from his impetuous valor, was taken prisoner, and Douglas slain, and the victory remained undecided. Some insurrections of the Irish obliged the king to make an expedition into that country, which he reduced to obedience; and he recovered in some degree by this enterprise his character of courage, which had suffered a little by the inactivity of his reign. At last the English and French courts began to think in earnest of a lasting peace, but found it so difficult to adjust their opposite pretension, that they were content to establish a truce of twenty-five years. Brest and Cherbourg were restored, the former to the Duke of Brittany, the latter to the King of Navarre. Both parties were left in possession of all the other places which they held at the time of concluding the truce; and to render the amity between the two crowns more durable, Richard, who was now a widower, was affianced to Isabella, the daughter of Charles. This princess was only seven years of age: but the king agreed to so unequal a match chiefly that he might fortify himself by this alliance against the enterprises of his uncles, and the incurable turbulence as well as inconstancy of his barons.—HUME.

#### THE TYRANNY OF RICHARD II., AND ITS RESULTS.

The Parliament of Shrewsbury met on the 28th of January, and, although it sat only three days, it made Richard, to all intents and

purposes, an absolute monarch. He held, therefore, his Parliament in his own hand; he had obtained a revenue for life; he had procured from the estates a solemn recognition of the undiminished and indefeasible power of his prerogative, and from the Pope a confirmation of the acts of the Parliament. He had punished his enemies, and in the deposition of the archbishop had shown that there was no one strong enough to claim immunity from his supreme authority and influence. All this had been done apparently with the unanimous consent, and ostensibly at the petition, of the Parliament, and it had been done, as compared with the work of the appellants, at very slight cost of blood.

Only one little cloud was on the horizon. The quarrel between Hereford and Norfolk,\* the two survivors of the appellants, the representatives of the two great names, Bolun and Bigod, which had always been found hitherto on the same side in the struggles of the Constitution. Both had deserted the cause which they had so ardently maintained, and possibly a common consciousness of wrong-doing may have impelled them into mutual recrimination. As they were riding between Brentford and London, in December, 1397, words passed between them which were reported to the king. Hereford was ordered to lay the statement before the Parliament; this was done on the 30th of January, 1398; and after the Parliament at Shrewsbury the two dukes met in Richard's presence at Oswestry, on the 23d of February. There Norfolk gave Hereford the lie. The quarrel was then referred by the committee of Parliament, which met on the 19th of March at Bristol, to a court of chivalry at Windsor, which determined on the 28th of April that it should be decided by combat at Coventry on the 16th of September. This decision Richard forbade, and, thinking it perhaps a favorable opportunity for ridding himself of both, compelled them to swear to absent themselves from England—Hereford for ten years, and Norfolk for life. They obeyed the award, which was confirmed by the committee of Parliament,† and Norfolk died a few months after. In January, 1399, John of Gaunt died, and although the Duke of Hereford had had special leave to appoint a proxy to receive his inheritance, Richard, still acting with the committee of Parliament, on the 18th of March annulled the Letters Patent by which that leave was given, took possession of the Lancaster es-

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\* See Shakspeare's "King Richard II.," Act I, Scene 1.

† See "King Richard II.," Act I, Scene 3.

tates, and thus threw into open enmity the man who, but for the existence of the Earl of March, would have been his presumptive heir. Hereford, seeing himself thus treated, conceived himself freed from his oath, and, although he had bound himself by another oath to hold no communication with the exiled Archbishop Arundel, at once opened negotiations with him. Arundel was no more inclined than the duke to content himself with his humiliation. He had visited the Pope at Florence, and obtained from him a confession that he had never in his life repented so bitterly for any thing as for his deposition of the archbishop; he had found that at the papal court no obstacle to his restoration would be raised, and, calculating securely on an opportunity which Richard sooner or later was certain to give, he waited his time. The opportunity was given when Henry, the heir of Lancaster, was disinherited; and when Richard left England to pay a long visit to Ireland the time was come.\*—STUBBS.

#### HENRY BOLINGBROKE'S ARRIVAL.

Richard went to Ireland at the end of May, 1399, leaving his uncle Edmund, Duke of York, as regent. Henry landed in Yorkshire on the 4th of July, and the external features of the Revolution of 1326 at once repeated themselves. Again the cause is the wrong done to Lancaster, again the invader marches westward, and as his prospect of success increases his pretensions expand; again the northern lords, now especially the Percies and the Nevilles, throw in their lot with him; again the king is wanting at the crisis, and when he is found has lost all nerve and power to meet it; and again Bristol is the point aimed at by the invaders, and its capture marked by the shedding of noble blood. On the 27th of July the regent himself joined Henry. Archbishop Arundel returned and began forthwith to act as chancellor. Bristol was taken, and on the 29th of July the Earl of Wiltshire, with Bussy and Green, underwent the fate of Hugh le Despenser. Meantime Richard had landed in Wales. He saw at once that all was over, and made no attempt to stem the tide of desertion and ingratitude. After a conference held at Conway with the Earl of Northumberland and Archbishop Arundel, in which he offered to resign the crown, he joined the Duke of Lancaster at Flint, and went with him to Chester, whence on the 2d of September he was brought to London. On the 19th of August

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\* See "King Richard II.," Act II, Scene 3.

the writs for a Parliament to be held on the 30th of September were issued from Chester; the first being addressed to Arundel as archbishop, and attested by the king himself and the council. In the interval means were taken to make all secure, and Richard was placed in the Tower of London. The question was debated whether the throne should be vacated by resignation or by deposition; and it was determined that both expedients should be adopted. Articles of deposition were drawn up, and a form of resignation was prepared for Richard's acceptance. Edmund of York, who on this one occasion comes forward as a politician, has the credit of proposing a plan which, under these complicated contrivances, should save the forms of the Constitution. He proposed that before the Parliament met the king should execute a formal act of resignation. Archbishop Arundel's objection that in that case the Parliament as soon as it met would be dissolved by the act of resignation was met by the preparation of new writs to be issued on the day on which the resignation was declared, summoning the Parliament to meet six days' later. Before the second summons was to come into force the revolution was accomplished.—STUBBS.

#### RICHARD II. RESIGNS THE CROWN.

Richard executed the deed of resignation on the 29th of September. Northumberland and Arundel had received his promise at Conway; Northumberland now demanded that he should fulfill it. He asked that Arundel and Lancaster should be summoned to his presence, and when they appeared he read a written form in which he absolved all his people from the oaths of fealty and homage, and all other bonds of allegiance, royalty, and lordship by which they were bound to him, as touching his person; he renounced in the most explicit terms every claim to royalty in every form, saving the rights of his successors; he declared himself altogether insufficient and useless, and for his notorious deserts not unworthy to be deposed; and these concessions he swore not to contravene or impugn, signing the document with his own hand. He added that if it were in his power to choose, the Duke of Lancaster should succeed him; but as the choice of a successor did not depend upon him, he made Scrope, Archbishop of York, and John Trevenant, Bishop of Hereford, his proctors, to present this form of cession to the assembled estates, and placed his royal signet on the duke's finger.—STUBBS.

## THE RENUNCIATION OF THE CROWN.

*Boling.* Are you contented to resign the crown?

*K. Rich.* Ay, no; no, ay; for I must nothing be;  
Therefore no no, for I resign to thee.

Now mark me, how I will undo myself:—

I give this heavy weight from off my head;  
And this unwieldy scepter from my hand,  
The pride of kingly sway from out my heart:  
With mine own tears I wash away my balm,  
With mine own hands I give away my crown,  
With mine own tongue deny my sacred state,  
With mine own breath release all duty's rites:  
All pomp and majesty I do forswear;  
My manors, rents, revenues I forego;  
My acts, decrees, and statutes I deny:  
God pardon all oaths that are broke to me!  
God keep all vows unbroke that swear to thee!  
Make me, that nothing have, with nothing grieved,  
And thou with all pleased, that hast all achieved?  
Long mayest thou live in Richard's seat to sit,  
And soon lie Richard in an earthy pit!  
God save King Harry, unkinged Richard says,  
And send him many years of sunshine days!—  
What more remains?

*North.* No more, but that you read  
These accusations, and these grievous crimes  
Committed by your person and your followers  
Against the State and profit of this land;  
That, by confessing them, the souls of men  
May deem that you are worthily deposed.

—*King Richard II.*, Act iv, Scene 1.

## REVIEW OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD II.

So ended the unhappy reign of Richard II., a prince who had certainly very little natural capacity to govern, and who, called to the throne in boyhood, could never be placed under such tuition as would have brought out the little capacity he had. It was the desire of the nation itself during his minority to emancipate him as much as possible from the control of his natural protector, John of



Gaunt; but when, yielding to this influence, he chose his own advisers, there rose up a cry that he was misled by favorites, and abandoned himself entirely to the counsels of young men. These complaints, which, after all, were not altogether true, served the purpose of the factious Duke of Gloucester, and enabled him to establish for a time a despotism quite as odious and as absolute as any that an anointed king could have attained to. It was terminated, apparently to the general satisfaction, by an act of self-assertion on Richard's own part, when he came of age; and for some years after things went pretty smoothly. But as new dangers crossed his path he grew more arbitrary, imperious, and unjust. He met intrigue by treachery, put his troublesome uncle to death without a trial, extorted money from his subjects by forced loans, and by his own kingly authority perverted law and justice. Yet it may be questioned whether he was at heart the cruel and vindictive character he is often represented to have been. He was undoubtedly a man of very sensitive feelings, a most devoted husband, and apparently to his true friends steadfast, as far as his power would reach. But it was a question through the whole reign whether the kingly power was to be treated as a reality or as a fiction, and Richard, who was of an angry and passionate temper, was not the man to use any power intrusted to him with discretion.

In personal appearance he was handsome. There was a delicate beauty in his features which corresponded with a mode of life too luxurious for the age. He was a lover both of art and literature, the patron of Froissart, Gower, and Chaucer, and the builder of Westminster Hall. But he was thought too fond of show and magnificence, and some of his contemporaries accused him of too great love of pleasure. Yet of positive immorality we have no real evidence, and his devotion and tenderness to both his queens (child as the second was) is a considerable presumption to the contrary. And as regards the expenses of his household, it does not appear that he was led on this account to tax his people immoderately. His ruin was simply owing to despotic and arbitrary measures—not in any way to pecuniary burdens that he inflicted on the nation.—GAIRDNER.

#### THE TWO KINGS.

*Enter YORK and his DUCHESS.*

*Duch.* My lord, you told me you would tell the rest,  
When weeping made you break the story off,

Of our two cousins coming into London.

*York.* Where did I leave?

*Duch.* At that sad stop, my lord,  
Where rude misgoverned hands from windows' tops,  
Threw dust and rubbish on King Richard's head.

*York.* Then, as I said, the duke, great Bolingbroke,  
Mounted upon a hot and fiery steed  
Which his aspiring rider seemed to know,  
With slow but stately pace kept on his course,  
Whilst all tongues cried, "God save thee, Bolingbroke!"  
You would have thought the very windows spake,—  
So many greedy looks of young and old  
Through casements darted their desiring eyes  
Upon his visage—and that all the walls,  
With painted imagery,\* had said at once,  
"Jesu preserve thee! welcome, Bolingbroke!"  
Whilst he, from the one side to the other turning,  
Bareheaded, lower than his proud steed's neck,  
Bespake them thus: "I thank you, countrymen:"  
And thus still doing, thus he passed along.

*Duch.* Alack, poor Richard! where rode he the whilst?

*York.* As in a theater, the eyes of men,  
After a well-graced actor leaves the stage,  
Are idly bent on him that enters next,  
Thinking his prattle to be tedious;†  
Even so, or with much more contempt, men's eyes  
Did scowl on gentle Richard; no man cried, "God save him!"  
No joyful tongue gave him his welcome home:  
But dust was thrown upon his sacred head;  
Which with such gentle sorrow he shook off—  
His face still combating with tears and smiles,  
The badges of his grief and patience—  
That had not God, for some strong purpose, steeled  
The hearts of men, they must perforce have melted,  
And barbarism itself have pitied him.

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\*Shakspeare is alluding to the painted cloths hung in the streets on the occasion of a public pageant, on which the figures were somewhat represented with labels issuing from their mouths, inscribed with congratulatory sentences.

† "The painting of this description is so lively, and the words so moving, that I have never read any thing comparable to it in any other language."—DRYDEN.

But Heaven hath a hand in these events,  
To whose high will we bow our calm contents.  
To Bolingbroke are we sworn subjects now,  
Whose state and honor I for aye allow.

*Duch.* Here comes my son Aumerle.

*York.* Aumerle that was;

But that is lost for being Richard's friend,  
And, madam, you must call him Rutland now:  
I am in Parliament pledge for his truth  
And lasting fealty to the new-made king.

—*King Richard II.*, Act v., Scene 2.

## CHAPTER III.

## LITERATURE AND SCIENCE.

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A LITERARY EPOCH.

THE reign of Richard II. is an interesting period in English literature. Before that time there was, strictly speaking, hardly any English literature at all. There were, indeed, ballads and some rhyming chronicles in English, but all serious authors wrote in Latin. An author who desired many readers naturally preferred to use a language which was understood over all Europe. A courtly author, or one who aimed at refinement, would rather have written in French than in English; for French was the language of the king's court, and also of the courts of law. Besides, the English spoken in one part of the country was so unlike the language current in another part, that an author writing in English could not have spoken to the whole people. But by this time Englishmen had begun to write in English for serious purposes. It was, apparently, in the latter part of the reign of Edward III. that a religious poet, whose name is believed to have been William Langland,\* wrote a remarkable allegorical work called "The Vision of Piers Plowman." A little later, Wiclif translated the Bible into English for the use of the unlearned. The influence of this latter work was extraordinary. It created throughout the land a much stronger sense of the reality of religious truth; and it placed in the hands of the common people a rich and suggestive literature, full of inexhaustible material for thought and reflection.

CHAUCER.—A native literature naturally grew up in the wake of such a book. The learned began to write for the people in their own tongue. Wiclif himself wrote several treatises in English. The poet Chaucer, too, and his brother poet Gower, wrote for amusement or edification, tales, poems, and prose compositions in English. Chaucer especially was a poet of the people; his English compositions are very numerous, and, notwithstanding the antiquity

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\* The evidence of this is very doubtful.

of the language, are read with a living interest at this day. His mind is typical of the nation in its breadth and cultivation. While describing with intense enjoyment the humors of the road and of the tavern, he nevertheless paid the highest honor to the knight's ideal of chivalry, and the parson's ideal of godliness. He looked into all the science and philosophy of the day, and expounded them in the vulgar speech. He wrote a book on astronomy for his little son Lewis. He translated from the French a poem, so popular upon the Continent, called the "Romaunt of the Rose," and he adapted tales from the Italian of Petrarch and Boccaccio, authors who lived in his own day, and one of whom he is supposed personally to have known. His best-known work is the "Canterbury Tales," in which he describes a pilgrimage, such as was common in those days, to the shrine of St. Thomas à Becket at Canterbury. Persons who had been ill used to make vows to visit that shrine on their recovery; and Chaucer represents about thirty pilgrims starting from the Tabard Inn in Southwark, and telling stories, each in his turn, to amuse them on the way.

Chaucer was a man who had seen much of the world. He had fought in the wars of Edward III. in France, and had been some time a prisoner. He had visited Italy. He had been sent on embassies. He was patronized by John of Gaunt, and was attached to the royal household. In 1386 he sat in Parliament—in that Parliament in which Michael de la Pole was indicted; but what part he took in the proceedings we cannot say. When the Commission of Regency was instituted he was dismissed from the office of Controller of Customs in London, which had been granted to him by the Crown. But with some changes of fortune Chaucer generally remained in favor at court, not only under Edward III. and Richard II., but also under Henry IV., in the beginning of whose reign he died.

GOWER.—The other poet of the day, John Gower, was Chaucer's personal friend, and was, like him, patronized by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster. "Moral Gower" he was called by Chaucer, and the name was most appropriate. In all he wrote he was perpetually moralizing. His principal works were three, entitled respectively, "*Speculum Meditantis*," "*Vox Clamantis*," and "*Confessio Amantis*," (The Mirror of one Meditating, The Voice of one Crying, and The Confession of a Lover.) The first of these poems was written in French, and does not appear now to be extant. The second was

written in Latin on the subject of Wat Tyler's rebellion. The third was written in English, in his old age, in obedience to a command of Richard II., who one day invited the poet into his barge, and desired that he would dedicate some composition to him. He accordingly produced a long poem on the subject of love, which he made the vehicle of a multitude of tales and reflections. But the book was not dedicated to King Richard after all, or rather that dedication was withdrawn; for John Gower, who was what Dr. Johnson called "a good hater," was completely alienated from his sovereign in the latter part of his reign, and he presented the completed labor to Henry of Lancaster. Gower also wrote a political poem called a "Tripartite Chronicle," in honor of the revolution which placed Henry IV. upon the throne, in which he very severely reviewed the whole government of Richard II., calling it "a work of hell," and extolling his dethronement and the accession of Henry as "a work in Christ."

THE LOLLARDS.—Wiclif died on the last day of the year 1384, three years after Wat Tyler's rebellion, and two years before the impeachment of the Duke of Suffolk. His name must always be chiefly associated in our minds with the translation of the Bible, and the doctrine promulgated by himself and his followers; for it was through that work that he exerted so powerful an influence on the succeeding age, and to it his followers, who were commonly called Lollards, continually appealed in proof of their favorite tenets. But there is another aspect in which Wiclif may be regarded. He was the last of what are commonly called the great Schoolmen—distinguished philosophers, who, during the Middle Ages, upheld and promulgated at the universities new systems of thought, which they themselves had introduced. Such were, in former days, Thomas Aquinas, Duns Scotus, Roger Bacon, and a number of others, whose teaching at the universities was celebrated throughout the world. And even after Wiclif's day there were schoolmen of high celebrity, such as his great theological opponent, Thomas Netter, of Walden, who was esteemed the prince of controversialists. But there was no schoolman after Wiclif who could be regarded as the originator of the philosophy which he defended in the schools. He was the last who had a system of his own.

His followers increased rapidly in England, and, partly perhaps in consequence of the intercourse with Bohemia created by Rich-

ard's first marriage, his doctrines found a large amount of favor in that country also.

**LEARNING AND SCIENCE.**—The whole learning of the age was contained in the writings of these schoolmen; yet they had done little or nothing to advance that which forms so great a study in our own day—natural science. Some, like Roger Bacon, had made a remarkable number of experiments, and pushed their inquiries into nature as well as into logic and mathematics, but nothing had yet been done to classify the results of repeated observations. The virtues of particular herbs were known, but botany had not yet been heard of, still less geology and mineralogy. Of chemistry there was no real knowledge, but experiments were made in a kind of spurious science called alchemy, by which it was supposed that a process might one day be discovered of transmuting other substances into gold. Of astronomy, in like manner, nothing was truly known, but there was a good deal of misdirected observation of astronomical facts, from the supposition that a man's fortune in life was influenced by the position of the planets at the time of his birth. Astrology, however, did teach men to observe before the day of true science came.

That the earth itself was a planet no one had any idea. It was believed to be the center of the universe, around which the heavens revolved with all their hosts, the sun, moon, and planets making special circuits of their own. Wise men did indeed believe the earth to be a sphere, but no one had hitherto thought of attempting to reach the other side of it. Nothing was known of any lands west of the Atlantic or south of Central Africa; while the most remote country to the east was the distant Cathay or China, which had been visited by the great traveler Sir John Mandeville in the days of Edward III. Very little, however, was known of any part of Asia. The Genoese and Venetian merchants could extend their commerce no farther than the Black Sea and the river Don, and the world which lay beyond excited very little interest.—GAIRDNER.

## CHAPTER IV.

THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF ENGLAND.

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## GROWTH OF THE COMMONS AND DECAY OF THE ARISTOCRACY.

DURING the last hundred years great social changes had been going on, and great social progress made. In fact, till the end of the reign of King John, the social, like the political history of the country, scarcely deserves the name of national. The description of any feudal society will in a great measure suit it. But the national existence had been worked out in the reign of Henry III., and was completed and finally established by the time of Edward I. From that time onward, continuous change and growth had been visible, and that growth had been national. The great fact of all modern history is the breaking up of the feudal and ecclesiastical system of the Middle Ages, and the introduction, as political and social elements of weight, of the middle and industrial classes. It is the beginning of that process which constitutes therefore the history of this period. The points to observe will be, therefore, the growth and advance of the Commons, the decay of the aristocracy. But it is as yet quite impossible to speak of the Commons as one body. The line which divided the class which sent its representatives to Parliament, and which was already becoming of political importance, from the mass of the laboring part of the nation, was very clearly drawn, and the characteristics, the employments, and the feelings of the one class, as well as the causes of their advance, will be very different from those of the other. It still remains to explain and illustrate the sources of the wealth of the Commons, their aristocratic tendencies, and the prevalence among them of a strong distaste for the pre-eminent position occupied by the Church. It was their wealth which gained them admission to Parliament, and the way in which that wealth was gained greatly influenced their view after they had been admitted.

TRADE.—The trade of England was almost entirely in raw materials. The cloth manufactured had hitherto been of the roughest description, but Edward III., true to his view of keeping English



trade for the English, and moved, perhaps, by the wealth of his allies the Flemish, attempted to introduce the manufacture of finer cloths. In 1331 he invited weavers and fullers from Flanders, and the patent exists which he gave to one John Kempe, to practice and teach his mystery. This seems to have been the beginning of the finer cloth manufactures of England.

HOUSES AND FURNITURE.—The fact of so much trouble being taken to organize trade shows the extent of it, and in spite of all ignorance and mismanagement, it was certain to produce wealth. The standard of comfort among all classes was improving, though there was nothing like what we should now speak of as luxury. The furniture used, even in the houses of the rich, was still rude. Things which are now found every-where, and taken as matters of course, were then valuable rarities—beds, bedsteads, and rich clothing were frequently left by will. The list of moveables, on which taxes were paid, are exceedingly meager. A stool or two, a chest, and a few metal pots, constituted the ordinary supply of furniture. In the houses of the very rich, art had indeed begun to show itself. The payments of Henry III. to foreign artists for paintings in his house are mentioned. Intercourse with the French, and especially with the Spaniards, tended to increase these more luxurious habits. Carpets had always been used by Eastern people, and the Moors had introduced the custom in Spain. Thus, on the marriage of Edward I., before the arrival of Eleanor of Castile, her brother, the Archbishop of Toledo, made his appearance. The hangings of his chamber excited the wonder of the people, and Edward, always inclined to ostentation, had the rooms of the bride elect similarly decorated. This is said to have been the introduction of carpets to England; but still the usual covering of the floor was rushes. There is frequent mention of payments for rushes for the king's chambers. In the matter of clothes the same change is observable. The extravagant court of Edward II. is said to have introduced parti-colored garments. In Edward III.'s reign, wealth had so increased in all ranks that it was found necessary to pass sumptuary laws, sharply dividing classes by the dress they were allowed to wear, and to confine silk and the finer woolen cloths to the higher ranks, for the sake, perhaps, of the English wool manufactures. In Richard II.'s reign, extravagance went still further. With his queen, Anne of Bohemia, came in the awkward habit, soon adopted by all classes, of wearing long shoes, called *cracowys* or *pykys*,

which required to be tied with silver chains to the knee before the wearer could move. And Stowe says that Richard himself wore a garment made of gold, silver, and precious stones, worth 3,000 marks. At the same time the rich built more comfortable houses. Castles ceased to be mere places of defense. They were at once strongholds and handsome dwelling-places. Warwick and Windsor castles may be looked on as fair specimens of the more magnificent buildings of the time. Meanwhile, though among the few, and on special occasions, splendor was found, houses, even in the streets of considerable towns, such as Colchester, the tenth city of the empire, were still built of mud. In Edward III.'s reign, it was still necessary to issue frequent orders for the cleansing of the streets of London, that his courtiers might not get into difficulties as they moved from Westminster to the city. Filth accumulated in the narrow by-lanes; and, as in the East, crows were held sacred as the only scavengers. Pavement there was none, and lanterns were hoisted from the top of Bow Church, to guide the wayfarer through the paths of the heaths that surrounded the metropolis.

FOOD.—Barbaric profusion in the matter of food made up for the want of substantial comforts. At the coronation of Edward I., 380 head of cattle, 430 sheep, 450 pigs, 18 wild boars, 278 fitches of bacon, and 20,000 capons, was the amount of food provided. The conduits ran wine, and hundreds of knights, who attended the great nobles, let their horses run free, to be the prize of the first captor. In 1399, at a Christmas-feast of Richard II., there were daily killed 28 oxen and 300 sheep, besides numberless fowl. Richard of Cornwall, at his marriage, is said to have invited 30,000 guests; while we are told that the usual household of Richard II. numbered 10,000. But though at these great festivals there was vast abundance of meat, at other times, especially at the church fasts, fish, often of the coarsest sort, was eaten. The wife of Simon de Montfort ate the tongue of a whale dressed with peas, and a porpoise dressed with fermenty, saffron, and sugar. Enormous quantities of herrings were consumed, spoken of as Aberdeens; in six days of March, Eleanor de Montfort's household consumed no less than 3,000. Her meals were diversified by dog-fish, stock-fish, conger eels, and cod. Wine was drunk in great quantities, frequently mixed with honey. Hops, though known in Flanders, had not been introduced; the beer which was largely consumed was made of any grain, and seasoned with pepper.

**VILLANAGE.**—It is, perhaps, in the lower Commons that social change is most obvious. The great insurrection of Wat Tyler is a sign of something more than mere temporary discontent. Agricultural villanage was disappearing, and giving birth to a new class almost peculiar to England, the free but landless laborer. The existence of this class first comes prominently into notice in the statute of laborers. In the terrible pestilence of the black death which had ravaged England, a third, perhaps a half, of the population had been carried off. Labor became scarce. The laborers took the opportunity of making what we should now call a strike for higher wages. Such a demand, however consonant with economical principles, was quite repugnant to the feelings of that age, when prices were a constant matter of legal enactment. The statute of laborers, stating in its preamble that servants, taking advantage of the necessities of their masters, would not serve except for excessive wages, enacted that every able-bodied man should be bound to serve any one who required him at the old wages under pain of imprisonment; and that every master giving more than the old wages should forfeit thrice the sum he had offered. Such an ordinance could not be kept; but strenuous efforts were made to insist upon it, and again and again in some form or other it was re-enacted. But whether successful or not, it shows the existence of labor for wages, and of a rising knowledge on the part of the laborers of the value of their work. Several causes combined to create this laboring class. The early form of agricultural society may be roughly described as a village of serfs lying round the manor-house of their lord. Each serf had his share in the common fields of the village, and was bound to join in the cultivation of his lord's domain or manor-farm. For the simple farming at that time prevalent this forced labor was sufficient; and the lord valued his serfs more for military purposes than as agricultural laborers. As subinfeudation and alienation went on, the holders of small properties were obliged to work their land to better profit. The alienations also were chiefly made from the lord's domain, but it was not usual to part with serfs. Consequently, their number increased, while the domain land diminished; there were more hands than the lord could employ, and the tenant working for profit could therefore find labor among the surplus serfs who would work for wages. A change in the character of war took place at the same time. The insular condition of England made the feudal arrange-

ment with its limited term of service inconvenient; in the highest ranks, therefore, military service was changed to scutage or money payment, and a large number of dependents became less desirable than money; proprietors were willing to work their farms with fewer servants and to receive money rent instead of service. There were thus at work the two principles which broke down villain labor; labor paid by wages, and land held for money rent. The change in war had another effect. Armies were raised by contract with some great lord. The payment was beyond the ordinary agricultural wages. The earl himself received a mark a day, the common foot-soldier, 3d or 4d, and the archer, 6d. Anxious to fulfill his contract, the leader would not be careful to inquire whether he was enlisting serfs or not. On his return from a war the well-paid soldier would be unwilling to fall back into a state of serfdom. He swelled the ranks of wage-paid labor. Again, the residence of a year and a day uninterrupted within the limits of a borough gave freedom. Serfs, seeing the advantage of money payments, fled thither and became free. Again, the Church, in whose eyes all men were equal, would not refuse to admit them within its ranks; a serf could thus become a priest or monk, and withdraw himself from his lord's power. On the same principle, the Church constantly urged the manumission of serfs. To all these causes was now added the disarrangement of labor consequent on the black death. With a general demand for labor all superfluous hands would find easy employment, perhaps at a considerable distance from their old homes. With a sufficient supply himself, the lord would not waste time or money to redeem them. We thus see how there may have been a vast number of free laborers in England. The statute of laborers, destroying their freedom of bargain, attempted, though with partial success, to force these free laborers back into a semi-servile condition. But they had now joined the ranks of freemen, such as the small farmers of Kent, and the unincorporated artisans of towns. The spirit of equality fostered by the teaching of the mendicant friars, who had reached England in Henry III.'s reign, and who took up their abode among the poor city populations, was still further increased by the teaching of Wiclif and his poor priests:

"When Adam dvelved and Eve span,  
Who was then the gentleman?"

A doggerel couplet frequent in the mouths of the insurgents of 1882,

shows how the lessons of the Bible made public by Wiclif's translation could be turned in the same direction. The feeling that it was the plebeian archer, and not the lordly man-at-arms, who had won the great victories in France, and the success with which, during the last half century, the smaller trade corporations had in the cities forced themselves into an equality with the great ones, all led to the same democratic feeling. The lower freemen made common cause with the villains. They had all felt the heavy pressure of the tax-gatherer.

**THE NOBILITY.**—While the two sections of the commons were thus rising in social position, a change had also taken place in the character of the nobility. It may be roughly characterized as the change from feudalism to chivalry. Many of the same causes which had conduced to the freedom of the laborer had tended to loosen the territorial system on which the ancient strength of the nobility rested. Especially had the voluntary character of military service dealt heavy blows at the practical side of feudalism. Soldiering was no longer the necessary duty of every man; but the military spirit remained, and to the bulk of the aristocracy fighting became a pastime. The subordination of proprietors gave place to a sort of system of free-masonry, to which all knights were admitted. Knighthood made its holder any man's equal for actual military purposes. It was no longer the great noble, but the good soldier, who was commander. As an amusement war was decked with ostentatious ornament. This is the period of showy tournaments, of armorial bearings, and of grotesque vows, like that of the young knights who attended Edward with black patches over their eyes. It is this chivalrous aspect of war which explains the short-lived character of Edward's expeditions. But it had more important effects. Importance in the country became a more personal matter; partly from love of show, partly to produce respect, great men began to surround themselves, not with feudal followers, but with paid retainers. To these they granted liveries. It was a point of honor among these retainers to stand by each other, and by their chief. Quite in the beginning of Richard II.'s reign, the Commons petitioned against these liveries, and the bands of maintainers who upheld each other in illegal actions. Thus great households, and by degrees factions, were formed, and things were ready for the great outbreak of faction fighting, which ended in the destruction of the old nobility in the Wars of the Roses.—BRIGHT.

## CHAPTER V.

HENRY IV.

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## HENRY'S POSITION IN ENGLISH HISTORY.

THE reign of Richard II., with its strange and rapid revolutions, had been the beginning of that great faction fight which was concluded a century afterward by the accession of Henry VII. After pursuing during that reign a policy of inconsistent and even treacherous self-seeking, the Duke of Lancaster now came forward as the champion of order. The *coup d'état* by which he put himself on the throne is another of those instances which history has so abundantly furnished, of the willing acceptance by a nation, after a period of long discomfort, of any one who would bring it rest. There are thus two points of view from which to regard his reign. It is the reign of a usurper bent upon establishing a dynasty, the reign of a conservative who bases his position on the maintenance of the existing state of society, and therefore for a time checks the natural progress of the nation. The necessity which a usurper feels for popularity will explain the improved constitutional position of the Commons during the earlier years of his reign; his position as a reactionary, that attachment to the Church which produced the famous statute, "*De Haeretico Comburendo*."—BRIGHT.

## EVILS TO BE CORRECTED.

The arbitrary character of the government at the close of the late king's reign, and the acts of vengeance which had marked it, were the evils which were most prominent at the moment. Henry's first step was of necessity the reversal of these acts, and the restoration of the state of things which had existed in 1388. The Parliament was therefore induced to declare all the acts of the last Parliament null, while those nobles whose adhesion to the late king had procured them fresh rank fell back to their old titles. Thus, the Dukes of Albemarle, of Surrey, and of Exeter, appear again as the Earls of Rutland, Kent, and Huntingdon, the Marquis of Dorset

as Earl of Somerset. The scene in the House of Lords in the first Parliament marks the pitch to which passion had risen, and the preparation already made for future civil war. Rutland, the son of the Duke of York, was challenged by Lord Fitzwalter, and when Lord Morley, the friend of the new king, challenged Lord Salisbury, no less than forty lords threw down their hoods as gauges of battle on one side or the other. This point is further illustrated by the petition of the Commons, that all liveries except those of the king should be forbidden. The nobles had been gathering paid retainers around them, and getting themselves ready for the threatening quarrel. Meanwhile, the king had been crowned, supported by his two great partisans—whose names show the great influence of the North in the late change of government—Percy, Earl of Northumberland, now made constable of England, and Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, with the rank of marshal. It by no means suited Henry to excite remark as to his right. He therefore stepped as quietly as he could into the position of his predecessor, and his son Henry was declared Prince of Wales and heir-apparent, entirely without mention of the young Earl of March, the real heir, who was then a child in the custody of the king at Windsor.

#### DEATH OF RICHARD II.

Meanwhile Richard had been imprisoned in Pontefract Castle. In February a report was spread that he was dead. On this the Privy Council begged that if still alive he might be carefully secured. The answer was given that he was already dead, and a corpse was exhibited in London, the face of which, from the eyes to the chin, was left uncovered, the rest of the body being carefully clothed. This peculiar arrangement excited suspicions, which were probably groundless, but were further supported by the complete mystery which hung over the manner of the king's death. Hunger and violence were both alleged; while some asserted that the corpse exhibited was not that of Richard, but that of priest Maudelin.—  
BRIGHT.

#### PURPOSE OF THE REMAINDER OF THIS VOLUME.

The object will be to trace the history of internal politics in England from the accession of Henry IV. to the fall of Richard III.: not that the period possesses a distinct political plot corresponding with its drama of dynastic history, but that from its close begins

the more prominent action of the new influences that color later history. A more distinct political plot, a more definite constitutional period, would be found by extending the scope to the beginning of the assumed dictatorship of Henry VIII. But to attempt that would be to trench upon the domain of later history, which must be written or read from a new standing point. The battle of Bosworth Field is the last act of a long tragedy or series of tragedies, a trilogy of unequal interest and varied proportions, the unity of which lies in the struggle of the great houses for the Crown. The embers of the strife are not indeed extinguished then, but they survive only in the region of personal enmities and political cruelties. The strife of York and Lancaster is then allayed; the particular forces that have roused the national energies have exhausted themselves. From that point new agencies begin to work, the origin of which we may trace, but the growth and mature action of which must be left to other hands.—STUBBS.

#### THE LANCASTRIAN PERIOD.

The history of the three Lancastrian reigns has a double interest. It contains not only the foundation, consolidation, and destruction of a fabric of dynastic power, but parallel with it, the trial and failure of a great constitutional experiment; a premature testing of the strength of the parliamentary system. The system does not indeed break under the strain, but it bends and warps so as to show itself unequal to the burden; and, instead of arbitrating between the other forces of the time, the parliamentary constitution finds itself either superseded altogether, or reduced to the position of a mere engine which those forces can manipulate at will. The sounder and stronger elements of English life seem to be exhausted, and the dangerous forces avail themselves of all weapons with equal disregard to the result. It is strange that the machinery of State suffers, after all, so little. But it is useless to anticipate now the inferences that will repeat themselves at every stage of the story.—STUBBS.

#### CHARACTER OF HENRY IV.

The character of Henry IV. has been drawn by later historians with a definiteness of outline altogether disproportioned to the details furnished by contemporaries. Like the whole period on which we are entering, the portrait has been affected by controversial views and political analogies. If the struggle between Lancaster and



York obscured the lineaments of the man in the view of partisans of the fifteenth century, the questions of legitimacy, usurpation, divine right, and indefeasible royalty obscured them in the minds of later writers. There is scarcely one in the whole line of our kings of whose personality it is so difficult to get a definite idea. The impression produced by his earlier career is so inconsistent with that derived from his later life and from his conduct as king, that they seem scarcely reconcilable as parts of one life. We are tempted to think that, like other men who have taken part in great crises, or in whose life a great crisis has taken place, he underwent some deep change of character at the critical point. As Henry of Derby, he is the adventurous, chivalrous crusader; prompt, energetic, laborious; the man of impulse rather than of judgment; led sometimes by his uncle, Gloucester, sometimes by his father; yet independent in action, averse to bloodshed, strong in constitutional beliefs. If with Gloucester and Arundel he is an appellant in 1388, it is against the unconstitutional position of the favorites; if, against Gloucester and Arundel in 1397, he takes part with John of Gaunt and Richard, it is because he believes his old allies to have crossed the line which separates legal opposition from treason and conspiracy. On both these critical occasions he shows good faith and honest intent, rather than policy or foresight. As king we find him suspicious, cold-blooded, and politic, undecided in action, cautious and jealous in private and public relations, and, if not personally cruel, willing to sanction and profit by the cruelty of others. Throughout his career he is consistently devout, pure in life, temperate and careful to avoid offense, faithful to the Church and clergy, unwavering in orthodoxy, keeping always before his eyes the design with which he began his active life, hoping to die as a crusader.\* Throughout his career, too, he is consistent in political faith. The House of Lancaster had risen by advocating constitutional principles, and on constitutional principles they governed.—STUBBS.

#### VISIT FROM THE EMPEROR OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

When Henry had been a year upon the throne he received a visit from the Emperor of Constantinople, Manuel Palæologus, who had traversed Europe seeking aid from Christian princes against the Turks. The event was of a character quite unprecedented, and

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\* See "King Henry IV.," Part I, Act 1, Scene 1.

excited a remarkable degree of interest. The eastern potentate was met by the king at Blackheath and conducted with peculiar honors into London, where he was magnificently entertained for the space of two or three months. The project of a crusade to the Holy Land was quite of a character to recommend itself to Henry, for he was deeply imbued with the notions of Christian chivalry. Even before he came to the throne, when he was only Earl of Derby, he had gone, like Chaucer's knight, against the infidels of Lithuania, and he doubtless regarded a visit to the Holy Land as the best atonement he could make for sin. But there were special circumstances at this time which drew the attention of Europe toward the East more than had been the case since the great days of the crusades. The cause of the Greek Emperor, who was Henry's guest, was the cause of Christianity in the East; and never had the prospects of Christianity been a subject of so much anxiety. The dominions of the Turk already covered the greater portion of the territory that they do at the present day, while Constantinople itself was now all that remained of the once powerful Eastern Empire. Yet even Constantinople had been besieged, and though not entirely won, a suburb had been actually given up to the enemy. Unless European princes would combine, a Christian empire in the East was a thing that could not live much longer. The Sultan by whose extraordinary energy these results had come about was Bajazet, the first of that name, appropriately surnamed Ilderim, or the Lightning.

But there was another great conqueror in Asia whose achievements eclipsed even those of Bajazet; and while Manuel was making fruitless appeals to the princes of Western Europe, Constantinople was saved from capture by a Mohammedan. Timour, commonly called Tamerlane, a native of Central Asia, was by birth a Tartar, but a descendant of the great Mongol Emperor Genghis Khan, the traditions of whose power and greatness he was ambitious to revive. With a mind highly cultivated in many respects, he was not neglectful of those practices by which Eastern despots knew how to inspire respect. As monuments of his victories he would leave behind him pyramids of human heads.

He now marched against Bajazet with an army of 80,000 men, to which his rival could oppose but half the number. The two great conquerors met at Angora, in Asia Minor, where the army of Bajazet was completely overthrown and himself taken prisoner. A curious story is told of the interview which took place after the battle be-

tween the captive Sultan and his conqueror. Timour was lame from a wound in the thigh received in one of his early battles. Bajazet was blind. On seeing his prisoner, Timour, it is said, could not refrain from laughing. "Surely," he remarked, "God does not hold the empires of this world in very high estimation when he commits them to a blind man like you and a lame one like myself."—GAIRDNER.

#### THE PERCIES AND NEVILLES.

The strong men of the peerage now were the Percies, who shared with the House of Arundel the blood of the Karolings, and had risen by steady accumulations of office and dignity to a primacy in power and wealth. The Earl of Northumberland was that Henry Percy who had disappointed the hopes of the good Parliament, who had stood by John of Gaunt when he defended Wiclif at St. Paul's, who had been afterward his bitter enemy, and whose desertion of the cause of Richard had, more than any other single event, insured the success of Henry. His brother Thomas had been steward to Richard II. and had received from him the earldom of Worcester. Ralph Neville, the Earl of Westmoreland, was brother-in-law of Henry Percy, and had risen in the same way. He was the son of the Lord Neville who had been impeached in the good Parliament, and he had married, as second wife, Johanna Beaufort, a daughter of John of Gaunt. The blood of the House of Lancaster ran also in the veins of the Hollands and the Arundels; and such lords as were not cousins to the King through his parents, were ranked in the affinity of the Bohuns. The vast estates of the House of Lancaster lay chiefly in the north and midland shires; and the great names of the Percies, Nevilles, Scropes, Lumley, Roos, Darcy, Dacre, Greystock, and Fitzhugh, show that the balance of political strength in the baronage lay northward also.—STUBBS.

#### OWEN GLENDOWER.

Owen Glendower, a Welsh gentleman of good family, educated in England, incensed at the rejection of a suit about a certain property of Lord Grey of Ruthyn, had roused the national animosity, and claimed for himself the title of Prince of Wales. For the present Henry could do nothing effective against him. The war assumed a national character; the Welsh were expelled from the towns in the Marches. Edward I.'s statutes against the Welsh were re-en-

acted, even including that which ordered the destruction of the bards. The conduct of the war was placed nominally in the hands of Henry, Prince of Wales, a lad of thirteen. But the whole of the following year Glendower's successes continued. Grey of Ruthyn and Edward Mortimer, uncle of the imprisoned prince, the Earl of March, were taken prisoners, and an expedition taken by Henry in person toward the close of the year was forced to retire from the mountainous strongholds of the Welsh. The storms and snow-drifts seemed to fight against them in that wild district, and gave rise to the belief that Glendower was a magician.\*

#### THE PRETENDED RICHARD.

About Whitsuntide, in 1402, the rumor reached England that Richard had escaped from Pontefract, and had made his appearance at the house of the Lord of the Isles, by whom he was handed over to the Court, and there kept so strictly that no man could get sight of him. The existence of such a pretender was certain. It was in vain that Henry attempted to suppress the rumor by executions; in vain that he even proceeded to execute certain Franciscan monks who had been engaged in spreading it. The secrecy which covered Richard's death, and which for some reason Henry could not break, prevented any clear proof of the imposture. The false Richard is believed to have been a man of weak intellect, called Thomas Ward of Trumpington.†

#### THE QUARREL WITH THE PERCIES.

The reason of the king's quarrel with the Percies is by no means clear, but various causes of discontent can be shown. The Duke of Albany, after much fighting on the borders, had made an expedition on a large scale against Carlisle. On its return home, the army, heavily laden with booty, was met by the Percies, and defeated at Homildon Hill. The defeat was complete; many Scotch nobles fell into the hands of the English, among them Murdoch, Earl of Fife, the son and heir of the Earl of Albany, and Douglas, Earl of Angus. For such prisoners the Percies expected a large ransom. Their anger and disappointment was great when the King

\* See "King Henry IV.," Part I, Act III, Scene 1.

† The action of Shakespeare's King Henry IV. begins with the news of the battle of Homildon Hill, (Sept. 14, 1402.) Regarding the ransom of the prisoners of the Percies, see the same play, Act I, Scene 3.

took Murdoch from them and claimed the ransom of the rest. A somewhat similar affair took place in Wales. Of Glendower's great prisoners, Grey of Ruthyn was allowed to ransom himself, a privilege refused to Mortimer; when the younger Percy, Hotspur, who had married Mortimer's sister, urged his claim, he met with a rebuff. The King also owed the Percies large sums of money; twenty thousand pounds was due to them, which the entanglement of the finances made it impossible to pay. The general feeling that they had been badly rewarded for the invaluable assistance they had afforded Henry, acting upon the unusually hot temper of the younger Percy, drove them into a change of policy.—BRIGHT.

#### HENRY'S POLICY TOWARD THE CHURCH.

From one point of view, as a usurper founding a new dynasty, he had now been quite successful. As a preserver of society, he probably regarded himself as not less so. Though the son of John of Gaunt, the favorer of Wiclif, and not averse in his youth to the doctrines of that teacher, he had seen that Lollardism pointed, not only to ecclesiastical, but to political changes. From the beginning of the reign he had determined that the preservation of the Church in all its privileges and possessions was the surest means of checking the rising democracy. He had, therefore, been always its staunch supporter. In pursuance of this policy, in the second year of his reign, he had given his assent to a persecuting statute, formed, it seems probable, on the petition of the clergy, without the participation of the Commons. This statute, which is known under the title of "*De Hæretico Comburendo*," forbade teaching and preaching without the license of a bishop, to whom also was given the right of condemning heretical books and writings, while the State undertook to carry out the bishop's sentence. Should any person thus condemned continue in his heresy, he was to be regarded as relapsed, and handed over to the civil arm, to be publicly burned. The first victim of this statute was William Sautre, at one time parish priest of Lynn, and involved in the treason of Kent and Huntingdon. On his persisting in the errors with which he was charged, the new law was carried into effect. The persecution once begun did not cease without more victims, and produced the effect, so common in cases of persecution, of driving the Lollards into further extremes of fanaticism. The germ of socialism which no doubt existed in the Lollard doctrine, and which showed itself in

the constant demand for the abolition of the wealth of the clergy, alarmed the barons, and made them strong supporters of orthodoxy. The Commons, on the other hand, although they appear to have differed in feeling at different parts of the reign, were on the whole willing enough, while supporting orthodoxy of faith, to countenance the secularization of church property. Indeed, they went so far in this direction, that in the year 1410, in answer to the reiterated request of the king for a settled yearly subsidy for his life, they pointed out to him the advisability of appropriating some of the ecclesiastical revenues, which would be enough, they said, to supply him with fifteen earls, fifteen hundred knights, and sixty-two hundred men-at-arms for military service. They begged also that those condemned for heresy might be withdrawn from the bishop's jurisdiction, and tried by secular courts.

#### THE PRINCE OF WALES.

The popularity of the Prince of Wales, his position as head of his father's council, not unnaturally gave the king some uneasiness in his last years. It seems not improbable that, having been once put at the head of the council, he virtually performed many of the duties of the government. Documents are extant in which he seems to be regarded as the king's representative. Moreover, the course of events seems to show certain changes of policy which can be explained in this way. It is evident from his after policy, that he was much attached to the Burgundian party in France. We may, therefore, credit him with the assistance sent to them, which proved so useful to them at the battle of St. Cloud, especially as the force was commanded by his friend, Sir John Oldcastle. The sudden change of foreign policy coincides in time with the king's altered tone in replying to the petitions of the Commons. These changes may very probably mark a determination on the part of the king to re-establish his authority, too much weakened by the position and popularity of the prince. The stories of the prince's wild life in London\* are mentioned by writers who are almost contemporary, yet do not seem to agree well with what is certainly known of his industry in public business. They, as well as the strange travesty of Oldcastle, a good soldier and stern religious enthusiast, into Shakespeare's jovial knight, Sir John Falstaff, are,

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\* See "King Henry IV.," Part I, Act. 1, Scene 2, etc.

perhaps, based on the malicious view taken by the orthodox of Oldcastle's religious tendencies. It is well known that one of the charges alleged against all enthusiastic religionists is immorality. Prince Henry's subsequent prosecution and punishment of Oldcastle would be represented as the discharge of his old favorites. The aspiring and dangerous character of the prince, in the eyes of his father, is represented by the story which describes him as having taken the crown from his father's bedside during one of his fits, and placed it on his own head, and having answered to the remorseful observations of the king as to the unjust manner in which he had gained it, that he "was prepared to guard it against the world in arms." It is at all events certain that coolness existed between father and son at the close of the reign. The French expedition was intrusted, not to the Prince of Wales, but to the Duke of Clarence, and for the last year and a half Prince Henry was removed from his position as president of the council. The disease which had so long tormented Henry came to a fatal termination on the 20th of March, 1413.—BRIGHT.

#### REVIEW OF THE REIGN.

This summary survey of the reign opens some important questions for which it furnishes no adequate answer. There are two hostile and most dangerous influences at work during the first half of it; the extraordinary poverty of the country, and, partly resulting from it, the singular amount of treason and insubordination, which reached its highest point in the rebellion of the Percies. Of the first of these it is now impossible to say how far it was real or how far fictitious. It is possible that the country was now beginning to realize fully the result of the long-continued drain caused by the wars of Edward III. and the extravagance of Richard II. It is possible that the public feeling of insecurity had led men to hoard their silver and gold, instead of contributing to the support of a government which they did not believe to be stable. Whichever be the true hypothesis, the king's poverty and the national distress served to augment disaffection. The hostile action of the Percies was unquestionably caused by financial as well as political disputes. The second evil influence was in great measure the result of Henry's ill luck, his inability to close the Welsh war, and the tardiness of his preparations against France and Scotland. The moment his personal popularity waned, the popular hatred of Richard began to

diminish also; the mystery of his death gave opening of a semi-legendary belief that he was still alive; and that faith, whether false or genuine, became a rallying point for the disaffected, the last cry of desperate men like Northumberland and Bardolf. Welcome as Henry's coming had been, violence had been done to the conscience of the nation, and it needed only misfortune to stimulate it into remorse for the past and misgiving for the future. And there were physical evils to boot, famines, and plague. There was the religious division to complicate matters still more; for Richard's court had been inclined to Lollardy, while Henry, under whatever temporary influence he acted, was hostile to the heretics. Yet on the whole Henry left behind him a strongly founded throne, and a national power vastly greater than that which he had received at his coronation. And some portion of the credit is due to him personally: he was not fortunate in war; he outlived his early popularity; he was for years a miserable invalid; yet he reigned as a constitutional king; he governed by the help of his Parliament, with the executive aid of a council over which Parliament both claimed and exercised control. Never before and never again for more than two hundred years were the Commons so strong as they were under Henry IV.; and in spite of the dynastic question, the nation itself was strong in the determined action of the Parliament. The reign, with all its mishaps, exhibits to us a new dynasty making good its position, although based on a title in the validity of which few believed and which fewer still understood; notwithstanding extreme distress for money, and in spite of much treachery and disaffection. All the intelligent knowledge of the needs of the nation, all the real belief in the king's title, is centered in the knights of the shire; there is much treason outside, but none within the walls of the House of Commons. The highest intelligence, on the whole, however, is plainly seen to be Arundel's, and next to his, although in opposition for the time, that of the Prince of Wales. The archbishop knows how to rule the Commons and how to guide the king; he believes in the right of dynasty, and, apart from his treatment of the heretics, realizes the true relation of king and people. If his views of the relation of Church and State, as seen in his leading of the convocation, are open to exception, he cannot be charged with truckling to the Court of Rome.—

STUBBS.



## CHAPTER VI.

## HENRY V.

Now all the youth of England are on fire,  
 And silken dalliance in the wardrobe lies:  
 Now thrive the armorers, and honor's thought  
 Reigns solely in the breast of every man.  
 They sell the pasture now to buy the horse,  
 Following the mirror of all Christian kings,  
 With winged heels, as English Mercuries.  
 For now sits Expectation in the air,  
 And hides a sword from hilt unto the point  
 With crowns imperial, crowns, and coronets,  
 Promised to Harry and his followers.  
 The French, advised by good intelligence  
 Of this most dreadful preparation,  
 Shake in their fear, and with pale policy  
 Seek to divert the English purposes.  
 O England! model to thy inward greatness—  
 Like little body with a mighty heart—  
 What mightst thou do, that honor would thee do,  
 Were all thy children kind and natural!  
 But see thy fault! France hath in thee found out  
 A nest of hollow bosoms, which he \* fills,  
 With treacherous crowns; and three corrupted men—  
 One, Richard Earl of Cambridge,† and the second,  
 Henry Lord Scroop of Masham,‡ and the third,  
 Sir Thomas Grey, knight, of Northumberland—  
 Have, for the guilt § of France—O guilt indeed!—  
 Confirmed conspiracy with fearful France;

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\* That is, the king of France.

† Youngest son of Edmund of Langley, Duke of York, and grandfather of Edward IV.

‡ Third husband of Joan, Duchess of York.

§ Gold.

And by their hands this grace of kings must die,  
If hell and treason hold their promises,  
Ere he take ship for France, and in Southampton.

—*King Henry V.*, Act ii, Scene 1.

#### CHANGE IN HIS CHARACTER ON COMING TO THE THRONE.

The many jealousies to which Henry IV.'s situation naturally exposed him, had so infected his temper, that he had entertained unreasonable suspicions with regard to the fidelity of his eldest son; and during the latter years of his life he had excluded that prince from all share in public business, and was even displeased to see him at the head of armies, where his martial talents, though useful to the support of government, acquired him a renown, which, he thought, might prove dangerous to his own authority. The active spirit of young Henry, restrained from its proper exercise, broke out into extravagancies of every kind; and the riot of pleasure, the frolic of debauchery, the outrage of wine, filled the vacancies of a mind better adapted to the pursuits of ambition and the cares of government. This course of life threw him among companions whose disorders, if accompanied with spirit and humor, he indulged and seconded; and he was detected in many sallies, which, to severer eyes, appeared totally unworthy of his rank and station. There even remains a tradition that, when heated with liquor and jollity, he scrupled not to accompany his riotous associates in attacking the passengers on the streets and highways and despoiling them of their goods; and he found an amusement in the incidents which the terror and regret of these defenseless people produced on such occasions.\* This extreme of dissoluteness proved equally disagreeable to his father, as that eager application to business which had at first given him occasion of jealousy; and he saw in his son's behavior the same neglect of decency, the same attachment to low company, which had degraded the personal character of Richard, and which, more than all his errors in government, had tended to overturn his throne. But the nation, in general, considered the young prince with more indulgence; and observed so many gleams of generosity, spirit, and magnanimity, breaking continually through the cloud which a wild conduct threw over his character, that they never ceased hoping for his amendment; and

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\*See "*King Henry IV.*," Part I, Act ii, Scene 2.

they ascribed all the weeds which shot up in that rich soil to the want of proper culture and attention in the king and his ministers. There happened an incident which encouraged these agreeable views, and gave much occasion for favorable reflections to all men of sense and candor. A riotous companion of the prince's had been indicted before Gascoigne, the chief-justice, for some disorders; and Henry was not ashamed to appear at the bar with the criminal, in order to give him countenance and protection. Finding that his presence had not overawed the chief-justice, he proceeded to insult that magistrate on his tribunal; but Gascoigne, mindful of the character which he then bore, and the majesty of the sovereign and of the laws which he sustained, ordered the prince to be carried to prison for his rude behavior. The spectators were agreeably disappointed when they saw the heir of the crown submit peaceably to this sentence, make reparation for his error by acknowledging it, and check his impetuous nature in the midst of its extravagant career.\*

The memory of this incident, and of many others of a like nature, rendered the prospect of the future reign nowise disagreeable to the nation, and increased the joy which the death of so unpopular a prince as the late king naturally occasioned. The first steps taken by the young prince confirmed all those prepossessions entertained in his favor. He called together his former companions, acquainted them with his intended reformation, exhorted them to imitate his example, but strictly inhibited them, till they had given proofs of their sincerity in this particular, from appearing any more in his presence; and he then dismissed them with liberal presents. The wise ministers of his father, who had checked his riots, found that they had unknowingly been paying the highest court to him, and were received with all the marks of favor and confidence. The chief justice himself, who trembled to approach the royal presence, met with praises instead of reproaches for his past conduct, and was exhorted to persevere in the same rigorous and impartial execution of the laws. The surprise of those who expected an opposite behaviour augmented their satisfaction, and the character of the young king appeared brighter than if it had never been shaded by any errors.—HUME.

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\* See "King Henry IV.," Part II, Act v, Scene 2.

## THE CHANGE OF CHARACTER OF THE KING.

*Cant.* The king is full of grace and fair regard.

*Ely.* And a true lover of the holy Church.

*Cant.* The courses of his youth promised it not.  
 The breath no sooner left his father's body,  
 But that his wildness, mortified in him,  
 Seemed to die too; yea, at that very moment,  
 Consideration, like an angel, came,  
 And whipped the offending Adam out of him,\*  
 Leaving his body as a paradise,  
 To envelope and contain celestial spirits.  
 Never was such a scholar made;  
 Never came reformation in a flood,  
 With such a heady currance,† scouring faults;  
 Nor never Hydra-headed willfulness  
 So soon did lose his seat, and all at once,  
 As in this king.

*Ely.* We are blessed in the change.

*Cant.* Hear him but reason in divinity,  
 And, all-admiring, with an inward wish  
 You would desire the king were made a prelate:  
 Hear him debate of commonwealth affairs,  
 You would say it hath been all-in-all his study:  
 List his discourse of war, and you shall hear  
 A fearful battle rendered you in music:  
 Turn him to any cause of policy,  
 The Gordian knot of it he will unloose,  
 Familiar as his garter:—that, when he speaks,  
 The air, a chartered libertine, is still,‡  
 And the mute wonder lurketh in men's ears,  
 To steel his sweet and honeyed sentences;  
 So that the art and practice part of life

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\* As Paradise, when sin and Adam were driven out by the angel, became the habitation of celestial spirits, so the king's heart, since consideration has driven out his follies, is now the receptacle of wisdom and of virtue.—JOHNSON.

† "Current" in the second folio.

‡ This line is exquisitely beautiful.—JOHNSON. The conversation between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of Ely, relating to the sudden change in the manners of Henry V., is among the well-known *beauties* of Shakespeare. It is indeed admirable both for strength and grace.—HAZLITT.

Must be the mistress to this theoric:\*

Which is a wonder how his grace should glean it,  
Since his addiction was to courses vain;

His companies† unlettered, rude, and shallow.

*King Henry V., Act i, Scene 1.*

#### THE AFFECTION OF THE PEOPLE FOR HENRY V.

Power deemed to be ill-gotten is naturally precarious; and the instance of Henry IV. has been well quoted to prove that public liberty flourishes with a bad title in the sovereign. None of our kings seem to have been less beloved, and indeed he had little claim to affection; but what men denied to the reigning king, they poured in full measure upon the heir of his throne. The virtues of the Prince of Wales are almost invidiously eulogized by those Parliaments who treat harshly his father; and these records afford a strong presumption that some early petulance or riot has been much exaggerated by the vulgar minds of our chroniclers. One can scarcely understand, at least, that a prince, who was three years engaged in quelling the dangerous insurrection of Glendour, and who, in the latter time of his father's reign, presided at the council, was so lost in a cloud of low debauchery as common fame represents. Loved he certainly was throughout his life, as so intrepid, affable, and generous a temper well deserved; and this sentiment was heightened to admiration by successes still more rapid and dazzling than those of Edward III. During his reign there scarcely appears any vestige of dissatisfaction in Parliament—a circumstance very honorable, whether we ascribe it to the justice of his administration, or to the affection of his people.—HALLAM.

#### GREATNESS OF HENRY V.

If we set aside the charges of sacrificing the welfare of his country to an unjustifiable war of aggression, and of being a religious persecutor, Henry V. stands before us as one of the greatest and purest characters in English history, a figure not unworthy to be placed by the side of Edward I. No sovereign who ever reigned has won from contemporary writers such a singular unison of praises. He was religious, pure in life, temperate, liberal, careful and yet

\* That is, his theory must have been taught to him by the art and practice of his life.

† Companions.

splendid, merciful, truthful, and honorable; "discreet in word, provident in counsel, prudent in judgment, modest in look, magnanimous in act;" a brilliant soldier, a sound diplomatist, an able organizer and consolidator of all forces at his command; the restorer of the English navy, the founder of our military, international and maritime law. A true Englishman, with all the greatneses and none of the glaring faults of his Plantagenet ancestors, he stands forth as the typical medieval hero. At the same time he is a laborious man of business, a self-denying and hardy warrior, a cultivated scholar, and a most devout and charitable Christian. Fortunately perhaps for himself, unfortunately for his country, he was cut off before the test of time and experience was applied to try the fixedness of his character, and the possible permanence of his plans. In his English policy he appears most distinctly as a reconciling and uniting force. He had the advantage over his father in two great points: he was not, even in a secondary degree, answerable for the difficulties in which Henry IV. had been involved by the very circumstances of his elevation; and he had, what Henry IV. perhaps had not, an unshaken confidence in his own position as a rightful king. He could afford to be merciful; he loved to be generous; he saw it was his policy to forgive and restore those whom his father had been obliged to repress and punish. The nobility and the wisdom of this policy not only made him supreme as long as he lived, but insured for his unfortunate son thirty years of undisputed sovereignty, a period of domestic peace which ended only when the principles on which it was based were, by misfortune, impolicy, and injustice, themselves subverted.—STUBBS.

#### THE LOLLARDS.

The royal favor shown to the Church and to the orthodox party during the last reign, and the persecution which had fallen upon heresy, had not by any means destroyed the Lollards. The same policy had still to be pursued. The religious, it might be called the bigoted, tendency of the House of Lancaster was very strong in the young king. He had been one of the chief petitioners against heresy in 1406, and had shared in and superintended some of the religious executions; especially is mentioned that of John Badby, in 1410. The prince had interrupted this man's execution, and attempted the conversion of the half-burnt sufferer; finding him firm, however, he allowed the execution to be completed. This tendency

induced him to enter into close alliance with the Church, and throughout his reign to adopt the language of religious enthusiasm, pretending to regard himself as the appointed instrument of God's vengeance on the sins of the French. He thus became the willing agent of the clergy in completing their persecution of the sectarians, and listened readily to the exaggerated reports for which the conduct of the Lollards afforded some ground. The head of this party was now Sir John Oldcastle, who sat as a peer, in right of his wife, under the title of Lord Cobham. His Castle of Cowling, in Kent, afforded shelter to their persecuted teachers, while his high character and old friendship with the king made his influence important. The archbishop determined to attack this man, at first pretending that he desired his conversion only. He placed in Henry's hands an heretical book which had been found in an illuminator's shop, and which belonged to Oldcastle. Henry tried first of all to argue with Oldcastle, (who, however, denied having read the book,) but could not convert him. The duties of friendship being now fulfilled, the Church was allowed to take the matter in hand. The heretic appeared several times before his judges, but firmly refused to depart from his points—that the Pope was antichrist, and that in the Lord's Supper, though the body of Christ might be present, yet the bread was bread. This firmness produced the only possible result, and he was condemned to be burned; but in the interval allowed him before the completion of his sentence he managed to escape.

The attack upon their chief roused the Lollards, and they are said to have entered into a general conspiracy for surprising and mastering the king and his brothers at Eltham, during the festivities of Christmas. Henry had early news of a meeting which was to be held on the 7th of January, 1414, in St. Giles' fields. It is quite unproved how far the intention of the conspirators really reached. Henry, with the Church behind him, was ready to believe any thing. He feared, perhaps, an insurrection similar to Wat Tyler's. Causing, therefore, the gates of the city to be closed, he spread armed men around the place of meeting, and as the Lollards approached, singly or in small bodies, they were seized. The news that the king's forces were abroad soon spread, and prevented any great number from falling into his hands. A jury was hastily summoned to declare that Oldcastle had treasonable plans, and a price was set on his head. The same jury then proceeded to try the

thirty-nine prisoners, all of whom were either hanged or burned. This event was followed by a still stricter proscription of heretical preachers and books. Chicheley, who succeeded Arundel as archbishop this year, followed in his predecessor's steps, and a statute was passed by which all judges and municipal authorities were bidden to apprehend and try Lollards, while conviction of heresy entailed confiscation of goods.—BRIGHT.

#### CLAIM TO THE CROWN OF FRANCE.

The claim made by Edward III. to the French crown had been questionable enough. That of Henry was certainly most unreasonable. Edward had maintained that though the Salic law, which governed the succession in France, excluded females from the throne, it did not exclude their male descendants. On this theory Edward himself was doubtless the true heir to the French monarchy. But even admitting the claims of Edward, his rights had certainly not descended to Henry V., seeing that even in England neither he nor his father was true heir to the throne by lineal right. A war with France, however, was sure to be popular with his subjects, and the weakness of that country from civil discord seemed [to furnish] a favorable opportunity for urging the most extreme pretensions.

With a fleet of fifteen hundred sail Henry crossed the sea, and landed without opposition at Chef de Caux, near Harfleur, at the mouth of the Seine. The force that he brought with him was about thirty thousand men, and he immediately employed it in laying siege to Harfleur. The place was strong, so far as walls and bulwarks could make it, but it was not well victualed, and after a five weeks' siege it was obliged to capitulate. But the forces of the besiegers were thinned by disease as well as actual fighting. Dysentery had broken out in the camp, and, though it was only September, they suffered bitterly from the coldness of the nights; so that, when the town had been won and garrisoned, the force available for further operations amounted to less than half the original strength of the invading army. Under the circumstances it was hopeless to expect to do much before the winter set in, and many counseled the king to return to England. But Henry could not tolerate the idea of retreat, or even of apparent inaction. He sent a challenge to the Dauphin, offering to refer their differences



to single combat; and when no notice was taken of this proposal, he determined to cut his way, if possible, through the country to Calais, along with the remainder of his forces.

SHAKESPEARE'S PRESENTATION OF THE CLAIM TO THE CROWN  
OF FRANCE.

*Enter* KING HENRY, GLOUCESTER, BEDFORD, EXETER, WARWICK,  
WESTMORELAND, and Attendants.

*K. Hen.* Where is my gracious Lord of Canterbury?

*Eze.* Not here in presence.

*K. Hen.* Send for him, good uncle.\*

*West.* Shall we call in the ambassador, my liege?†

*K. Hen.* Not yet, my cousin; we would be resolved,  
Before we hear him, of some things of weight  
That task our thoughts, concerning us and France.

*Enter the* ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, and the BISHOP OF ELY.

*Cant.* God and his angels guard your sacred throne,  
And make you long become it!

*K. Hen.* Sure, we thank you.

My learned lord, we pray you to proceed,  
And justly and religiously unfold  
Why the law Salique, that they have in France,  
Or should, or should not, bar us in our claim:  
And God forbid, my dear and faithful lord,  
That you should fashion, wrest, or bow your reading,  
Or nicely charge your understanding soul‡  
With opening titles miscreate,§ whose right  
Suits not in native colors with the truth;  
For God doth know how many, now in health,  
Shall drop their blood in approbation  
Of what your reverence shall incite us to.  
Therefore take heed how you impawn¶ our person,  
How you awake our sleeping sword of war.  
We charge you, in the name of God, take heed;

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\* Henry's uncle was Thomas Beaufort, Earl of Dorset, created Duke of Exeter the year following the battle of Agincourt.

† The drama begins with this speech in the quarto editions.

‡ Burden your knowing or sagacious soul.

§ Illegitimate, spurious.

¶ Pledge, or engage.

For never two such kingdoms did contend  
 Without much fall of blood ; whose guiltless drops  
 Are every one a woe, a sore complaint  
 'Gainst him whose wrong gives edge unto the swords  
 That make such waste in brief mortality.  
 Under this conjuration speak, my lord ;  
 For we will hear, note, and believe in heart  
 That what you speak is in your conscience washed  
 As pure as sin with baptism.\*

*Cant.* Then hear me, gracious sovereign, and you peers,  
 That owe your lives, your faith, and services †  
 To this imperial throne. ‡—There is no bar  
 To make against your highness' claim to France  
 But this, which they produce from Pharamond—  
 "In terram Salicam mulieres ne succedant :"  
 "No woman shall succeed in Salique land :"  
 Which Salique land the French unjustly gloze §  
 To be the realm of France, and Pharamond  
 The founder of this law and female bar.  
 Yet their own authors faithfully affirm  
 That the land Salique is in Germany,  
 Between the floods of Sala and of Elbe ;  
 Where Charles the Great, having subdued the Saxons,  
 There left behind and settled certain French ;  
 Who, holding in disdain the German women  
 For some dishonest manners of their life,  
 Established then this law ;—to wit, no female  
 Should be inheritrix in Salique land :—

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\* Nothing can be better managed than the caution which the king gives the archbishop, not to advise him rashly to engage in the war with France, his scrupulous dread of the consequences of that advice, and his eager desire to hear and follow it.—HAZLITT.

† The folio reads, "yourselves, your lives, and services."

‡ The remainder of the archbishop's speech is literally rendered from Holinshed : "That is to saye, lette not women succede in the Land Salique, which the French glozers expound to bee the Realme of France, and that this lawe was made by King Pharamond, wheras yet their own authors affirme that the Land Salique is in Germanie," etc.

§ Misinterpret. *Gloze* is always used with a sinister meaning by the old writers. Thus in Spenser's "Faery Queen :"

"For he could well his glozing speeches frame  
 To such vaine uses that him best became."

—Book II, Canto 8.

Which Salique, as I said, 'twixt Elbe and Sala,  
 Is at this day in Germany called Meisen.  
 Then doth it well appear the Salique law  
 Was not deviséd for the realm of France:  
 Nor did the French possess the Salique land  
 Until four hundred one and twenty years  
 After defunction of King Pharamond,  
 Idly supposed the founder of this law;  
 Who died within the year of our redemption  
 Four hundred twenty-six; and Charles the Great  
 Subdued the Saxons, and did seat the French  
 Beyond the river Sala, in the year  
 Eight hundred five. Besides, their writers say,  
 King Pepin, which deposéd Childeric,  
 Did, as heir general, being descended  
 Of Blithild, which was daughter to King Clothair,  
 Make claim and title to the crown of France.  
 Hugh Capet also—who usurped the crown  
 Of Charles the Duke of Lorraine, sole heir male  
 Of the true line and stock of Charles the Great—  
 To find \* his title with some shows of truth—  
 Though, in pure truth, it was corrupt and naught,  
 Conveyed himself as heir to the Lady Lingare,†  
 Daughter to Charlemain, who was the son  
 To Lewis the emperor, and Lewis the son  
 Of Charles the Great. Also King Lewis the Tenth,  
 Who was sole heir to the usurper Capet,  
 Could not keep quiet in his conscience,  
 Wearing the crown of France, till satisfied  
 That fair Queen Isabel, his grandmother,  
 Was lineal of the lady Ermengare,  
 Daughter to Charles the foresaid duke of Lorraine:  
 By the which marriage the line of Charles the Great  
 Was re-united to the crown of France.  
 So that, as clear as is the summer's sun,

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\* Warburton proposes to read "fine," for to *refine* or *improve*; Johnson, "fine," to *decorate* and *strengthen*. Steevens says: "To *fine* his title, is to make it showy or specious by some appearance of justice."

† "Conveyed;" made himself appear.—There is no Lady Lingare mentioned by any of the historians; probably she was a character invented by the heralds in their anxiety to make out a claim for Henry V.

King Pepin's title and Hugh Capet's claim,  
 King Lewis his satisfaction, all appear  
 To hold in right and title of the female.  
 So do the kings of France unto this day;  
 Howbeit they would hold this Salique law  
 To bar your highness claiming from the female,  
 And rather choose to hide them in a net  
 Than amply to imbar \* their crooked titles  
 Usurped from you and your progenitors.

*K. Hen.* May I with right and conscience make this claim?

*Cant.* The sin upon my head, dread sovereign!  
 For in the book of Numbers is it writ,  
 When the man† dies, let the inheritance  
 Descend unto the daughter. Gracious lord,  
 Stand for your own; unwind your bloody flag;  
 Look back into your mighty ancestors!  
 Go, my dread lord, to your great-grandsire's tomb,  
 From whom you claim; invoke his warlike spirit,  
 And your great-uncle's, Edward the Black Prince,  
 Who on the French ground played a tragedy,  
 Making defeat on the full power of France,  
 Whiles his most mighty father on a hill  
 Stood smiling to behold his lion's whelp  
 Forage in blood of French nobility.‡  
 O noble English, that could entertain  
 With half their forces the full pride of France,  
 And let another half stand laughing by,  
 All out of work and cold for action! §  
*Ely.* Awake remembrance of these valiant dead,  
 And with your puissant arm renew their feats.

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\* "Imbare," to lay bare. The folio reads *imbarre*; the first two quartos, *imbase*; and the third quarto, *embrace*. Perhaps for "amply" we might read *simply*.

† The quartos read "son."

‡ The Earl of Northampton and others sent to the king, (Edward III., at the battle of Crecy,) where he stood aloft on a windmill hill; the king demanded if his sonne were slaine, hurt, or felled to the earth. No, said the knight that brought the message, but he is sore matched. Well, said the king, returne to him and them that sent you, and saie to them, that they send no more to me for any adventure that falleth, as long as my son is alive; for I will that this journeye be his, with the honor thereof. The slaughter of the French was great and lamentable at the same battle, fought the 26th August, 1346.—*HOLINSHED*, II, 372.

§ That is, for want of action.

You are their heir; you sit upon their throne;  
 The blood and courage that renownéd them  
 Runs in your veins; and my thrice-puissant liege  
 Is in the very May-morn of his youth,  
 Ripe for exploits and mighty enterprises.

*Eae.* Your brother kings and monarchs of the earth  
 Do all expect that you should rouse yourself,  
 As did the former lions of your blood.

*West.* They know your grace hath cause, and means, and  
 might:

So hath your highness; \* never king of England  
 Has nobles richer and more loyal subjects,  
 Whose hearts have left their bodies here in England,  
 And lie pavilioned in the fields of France.

*Cant.* O, let their bodies follow, my dear liege,  
 With blood and sword and fire to win your right;  
 In aid whereof we of the spirituality  
 Will raise your highness such a mighty sum  
 As never did the clergy at one time  
 Bring in to any of your ancestors.

*K. Hen.* We must not only arm to invade the French,  
 But lay down our proportions to defend  
 Against the Scot, who will make road upon us  
 With all advantages.

*Cant.* They of those marches, † gracious sovereign,  
 Shall be a wall sufficient to defend  
 Our inland from the pilfering borderers.

—*King Henry V.*, Act i, Scene 2.

#### THE BATTLE OF AGINCOURT.

On the night of the 24th of October they (the English troops) were posted at the village of *Maisoncelles*, with an enemy before them five or six times their number, who had resolved to stop their further progress. Both sides prepared for battle on the following morning. The English, besides being so much inferior in numbers, were wasted by disease and famine, while their adversaries were fresh and vigorous, with a plentiful commissariat. But the latter

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\* That is, Your highness really *hath* what they think and know you have.

† The Borders were so called.

were over-confident. They spent the evening in dice-playing, and making wagers about the prisoners they should take; while the English, on the contrary, confessed themselves and received the sacrament. Heavy rain fell during the night, from which both armies suffered; but Henry availed himself of a brief period of moonlight to have the ground thoroughly surveyed. His position was an admirable one. His forces occupied a narrow field hemmed in on either side by hedges and thickets, so that they could only be attacked in front, and were in no fear of being surrounded. Early on the following morning Henry arose and heard mass; but the two armies stood facing each other for some hours, each waiting for the other to begin. The English archers were drawn up in front in form of a wedge, and each man was provided with a stake shod with iron at both ends, which being fixed into the ground before him, the whole line formed a kind of hedge bristling with sharp points, to defend them from being ridden down by the enemy's cavalry. At length, however, Henry gave orders to commence the attack, and the archers advanced, leaving their stakes behind them fixed in the ground. The French cavalry on either side endeavored to close them in, but were soon obliged to retire before the thick shower of arrows poured in upon them, which destroyed four fifths of their numbers. Their horses then became unmanageable, being plagued with a multitude of wounds, and the whole army was thrown into confusion. Never was a more brilliant victory won against more overwhelming odds.\*

Altogether, the slaughter of the French was enormous. There is a general agreement that it was upward of ten thousand men, and among them were the flower of the French nobility. That of the English was disproportionately small. Their own writers reckon it not more than one hundred altogether, some absurdly stating it as low as twenty or thirty, while the French authorities estimate it variously from three hundred to sixteen hundred. Henry called his victory the battle of Agincourt from the name of a neighboring castle. The army proceeded in excellent order to Calais, where they were triumphantly received, and after resting there a while recrossed to England. The news of such a splendid victory caused them to be welcomed with an enthusiasm that knew no bounds. At Dover the people rushed into the sea to meet the conquerors, and carried the king in their arms in triumph from his vessel to the

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\* See "King Henry V.," Act III, Scene 7; Act IV, Scene 1, 2, 3, etc.

shore. From thence to London his progress was like one continued triumphal procession, and the capital itself received him with every demonstration of joy.—GAIRDNER.

#### THREE GREAT BATTLES.

The three great battles of Crecy, Poitiers and Azincourt bear a singular resemblance to each other in their most considerable circumstances. In all of them there appears the same temerity in the English princes, who, without any object of moment, merely for the sake of plunder, had ventured so far into the enemy's country as to leave themselves no retreat; and, unless saved by the utmost imprudence in the French commanders, were, from their very situation, exposed to inevitable destruction. But allowance being made for this temerity, which, according to the irregular plans of war, followed in those ages, seems to have been, in some measure, unavoidable, there appears, in the day of action, the same presence of mind, dexterity, courage, firmness, and precaution, on the part of the English; the same precipitation, confusion, and vain confidence, on the part of the French; and the events were such as might have been expected from such opposite conduct. The immediate consequences, too, of these three great victories were similar: Instead of pushing the French with vigor, and taking advantage of their consternation, the English princes, after their victory, seem rather to have relaxed their efforts, and to have allowed the enemy leisure to recover from his losses. Henry interrupted not his march a moment after the battle of Azincourt; he carried his prisoners to Calais, thence to England; he even concluded a truce with the enemy; and it was not till after an interval of two years that any body of English troops appeared in France.—HUME.

#### SECOND INVASION OF FRANCE.

But during this interruption of hostilities from England, France was exposed to all the furies of civil war; and the several parties became every day more enraged against each other.

While France was in such furious combustion, [1418,] and was so ill prepared to resist a foreign enemy, Henry, having collected some treasure, and levied an army, landed in Normandy at the head of twenty-five thousand men, and met with no considerable opposition from any quarter. He made himself master of Falaise; Evreux and Caen submitted to him; Ponte de l'Arche opened its

gates; and Henry, having subdued all the lower Normandy, and having received a re-enforcement of fifteen thousand men from England, formed the siege of Rouen, which was defended by a garrison of four thousand men, seconded by the inhabitants to the number of fifteen thousand. The Cardinal Des Ursins here attempted to incline him toward peace, and to moderate his pretensions; but the king replied to him in such terms as showed that he was fully sensible of all his present advantages. "Do you not see," said he, "that God has led me hither as by the hand? France has no sovereign; I have just pretensions to that kingdom; every thing is here in the utmost confusion; no one thinks of resisting me. Can I have a more sensible proof that the Being who disposes of empires has determined to put the crown of France upon my head?"—HUME.

## SIEGE OF ROUEN.

Almost the whole of Normandy was by this time in possession of the English; but Rouen, the capital of the duchy, still held out. It was a large city, strongly fortified, but Henry closed it in on every side until it was reduced to capitulate by hunger. At the beginning of the siege the authorities took measures to expel the destitute class of the inhabitants, and several thousands of poor people were thus thrown into the hands of the besiegers, who endeavored to drive them back into the town. But the gates being absolutely shut against them, they remained between the walls and the trenches, pitifully crying for help and perishing for want of food and shelter, until, on Christmas-day, when the siege had continued nearly five months, Henry ordered food to be distributed to them "in the honor of Christ's nativity." Those within the town, meanwhile, were reduced to no less extremities. Enormous prices were given for bread, and even for the bodies of dogs, cats, and rats. The garrison at length were induced to offer terms, but Henry for some time insisted on their surrendering at discretion. Hearing, however, that a desperate project was entertained of undermining the wall and suddenly rushing out upon the besiegers, he consented to grant them conditions, and the city capitulated on January 19, [1419.] The few places that remained unconquered in Normandy then opened their gates to Henry; others in Maine and the Isle of France did the same, and the English troops entered Picardy on a further career of conquest.

Both the rival factions were now seriously anxious to stop the



progress of the English, either by coming at once to terms with Henry, or by uniting together against him; and each in turn first tried the former course. The dauphin offered to treat with the King of England; but as Henry demanded the whole of those large possessions in the north and south of France which had been secured to Edward III. by the treaty of Bretigni, he felt that it was impossible to prolong the negotiation. The Duke of Burgundy then arranged a personal interview at Meulan between Henry on the one side and himself and the French Queen on behalf of Charles, at which terms of peace were to be adjusted. The queen brought with her the Princess Catherine her daughter, whose hand Henry himself had formerly demanded as one of the conditions on which he would have consented to forbear from invading France. It was now hoped that if he would take her in marriage he would moderate his other demands. But Henry, for his part, was altogether unyielding. He insisted on the terms of the treaty of Bretigni, and on keeping his own conquests besides, with Anjou, Maine, Touraine, and the sovereignty over Brittany.—GAIRDNER.

#### TREATY OF TROYES. HENRY'S MARRIAGE.

A treaty on this basis was at length concluded at Troyes in Champagne on May 21, 1420, and on Trinity Sunday, June 2, Henry was married to the Princess Catherine. Shortly afterward the treaty was formally registered by the states of the realm at Paris, when the dauphin was condemned and attainted as guilty of the murder of the Duke of Burgundy and declared incapable of succeeding to the crown. But the state of affairs left Henry no time for honey-moon festivities. On the Tuesday after his wedding he again put himself at the head of his army, and marched with Philip of Burgundy to lay siege to Sens, which in a few days capitulated. Montereau and Melun were next besieged in succession, and each, after some resistance, was compelled to surrender. The latter siege lasted nearly four months, and during its continuance Henry fought a single combat with the governor in the mines, each combatant having his vizor down and being unknown to the other. The governor's name was Barbason, and he was one of those accused of complicity in the murder of the Duke of Orleans; but in consequence of this incident Henry saved him from the capital punishment which he would otherwise have incurred on his capture.—GAIRDNER.

## SIGNING THE TREATY OF TROYES.

*Fr. King.* We have consented to all terms of reason.

*K. Hen.* Is't so, my lords of England?

*West.* The king hath granted every article:

His daughter first, and then in sequel all,

According to their firm proposèd natures.

*Ex.* Only he hath not yet subscribed this: Where your majesty demands, that the King of France, having any occasion to write for matter of grant, shall name your highness in this form and with this addition, in French, *Notre trèscher fils Henri, Roi d'Angleterre, Héritier de France*; and thus in Latin, *Præclarissimus filius noster Henricus, Rex Angliæ, et Hæres Franciæ*.

*Fr. King.* Nor this I have not, brother, so denied  
But your request shall make me let it pass.

*K. Hen.* I pray you then, in love and dear alliance,  
Let that one article rank with the rest;  
And thereupon give me your daughter.

*Fr. King.* Take her, fair son, and from her blood raise up  
Issue to me; that the contending kingdoms  
Of France and England, whose very shores look pale  
With envy of each other's happiness,  
May cease their hatred, and this dear conjunction  
Plant neighborhood and Christian-like accord  
In their sweet bosoms, that never war advance  
His bleeding sword 'twixt England and fair France.

*All.* Amen.

*K. Hen.* Now, welcome, Kate: and bear me witness all,  
That here I kiss her as my sovereign queen. [*Flourish.*]

*Q. Isa.* God, the best maker of all marriages,  
Combine your hearts in one, your realms in one!  
As man and wife, being two, are one in love,  
So be there 'twixt your kingdoms such a spousal,  
That never may ill office, or fell jealousy,  
Which troubles oft the bed of blessed marriage,  
Thrust in between the paction of these kingdoms,  
To make divorce of their incorporate league;  
That English may as French, French Englishmen,  
Receive each other. God speak this Amen.

*All.* Amen!

*K. Hen.* Prepare we for our marriage: on which day,  
 My Lord of Burgundy, we'll take your oath,  
 And all the peers, for surety of our leagues.  
 Then shall I swear to Kate, and you to me;  
 And may our oaths well kept and prosperous be! [*Sennet. Exeunt.*  
*King Henry V., Act v, Scene 2.*

### THIRD INVASION OF FRANCE.

Again Henry crossed the sea with a new army, having borrowed large sums for the expenses of the expedition. Before he left England he made a private treaty with his prisoner King James of Scotland, promising to let him return to his country after the campaign in France on certain specified conditions, among which it was agreed that he should take the command of a body of troops in aid of the English. James had accompanied him in his last campaign, and Henry had endeavored to make use of his authority to forbid the Scots in France from taking part in the war, but they had refused to acknowledge themselves bound to a king who was a captive. By this agreement, however, Henry obtained real assistance and co-operation from his prisoner, whom he employed, in concert with the Duke of Gloucester, in the siege of Dreux, which very soon surrendered. He himself meanwhile marched toward the Loire to meet the dauphin, and took Beaugency; then returning northward, first reduced Villeneuve on the Yonne, and afterward laid siege to Meaux on the Marne. The latter place held out for seven months, and while Henry lay before it he received intelligence that his-queen had borne him a son at Windsor, who was christened Henry, [afterward Henry VI.]

The city of Meaux surrendered on May 10, 1422. The governor, a man who had been guilty of great cruelties, was beheaded, and his head and body were suspended from a tree, on which he himself had caused a number of people to be hanged as adherents of the Duke of Burgundy. Henry was now master of the greater part of the north of France, and his queen came over from England to join him, with re-enforcements under his brother the Duke of Bedford. But he was not permitted to rest; for the dauphin, having taken from his ally the Duke of Burgundy the town of La Charté on the Loire, proceeded to lay siege to Cosne, and Philip, having applied to Henry for assistance, he sent forward the Duke of Bedford with his army, intending shortly to follow himself.

This demonstration was sufficient. The dauphin felt that he was too weak to contend with the united English and Burgundian forces, and he withdrew from the siege.

#### ILLNESS AND DEATH OF HENRY V.

Henry, however, was disabled from joining the army by a severe attack of dysentery; and though he had at first hoped that he might be carried in a litter to head-quarters, he soon found that his illness was far too serious to permit him to carry out his intention. He was accordingly conveyed back to Vincennes near Paris, where he grew so rapidly worse that it was evident his end was near. In a few brief words to those about him he declared his will touching the government of England and France after his death, until his infant son should be of age. The regency of France he committed to the Duke of Bedford, in case it should be declined by the Duke of Burgundy. That of England he gave to his other brother, Humphrey Duke of Gloucester. To his two uncles, Henry Beaufort, Bishop of Winchester, and Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, he intrusted the guardianship of his child. He besought all parties to maintain the alliance with Burgundy, and never to release the Duke of Orleans during his son's minority. Having given these instructions he expired, on the last day of August, 1422.—GAIRDNER.

#### GREATNESS OF HENRY V.

It is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to form a just estimate of the character of Henry V., in regarding it from the modern point of view. To place before our eyes the social good that might have been accomplished by a prince of such eminent talents, of such strong will, of such firm self-reliance, of such fortitude under the most appalling difficulties, of such equanimity at the height of success, of such zealous though erring sense of religious obligation—to view him in a possible career of honest energy without the lust of conquest, and to blame him for not preferring a real usefulness to a blind ambition—this is to set aside the circumstances which gave a direction to the actions by which we must judge of his character. We can imagine a prince so endowed, despising the superstition of his times, determined to make a corrupted Church tolerant, and to bestow liberty of conscience upon all his subjects. Such a conquest of bigotry would have been a wilder and a more dangerous undertaking than the conquest of France. We can

imagine him looking beyond all the prejudices of his age, and discovering that a free commercial intercourse between nations is the true foundation of prosperous industry. Such a theory has not been possible to be realized in England till the very times in which we live; and is even now rejected as impossible by nations far more advanced in understanding what belongs to real civilization than the England of the fifteenth century. We can imagine him destroying the jealous factions which disturbed his father's doubtful authority, by calling forth the love of the great body of the people, and urging forward the rights of the burgess and the laborer to control the oppressions that still clung to the decaying system of feudality. It was long before the monarchical could extinguish the aristocratic tyranny; and then the rule of the one was, in many respects, a despotism more injurious than the grasping and turbulent power of the many. England had to pass through various stages of misrule before the universal good could be received as the great end of all government. Before Henry V. there was opened the magnificent prospect of recovering the hereditary dominions of the Norman kings, which had slipped away from the feeble successors of the greatest of that valiant race; which had been partially won back by the third Edward; and which had again been surrendered to the growing power of France. His negotiations show that his real policy was to recover what had been lost after the treaty of Bretigny; and that his demand of the French crown would have been soon abandoned had not the distractions of France offered an irresistible temptation to his enthusiastic ambition. For he was an enthusiast. He had an undoubting confidence in the justice of his claim; he had no apprehensions of its impolicy. His bravery, fortitude, and perseverance won the admiration of the English people, as such qualities will always command the applause of a military nation. In England every man was trained to arms, and the brilliant achievements of the great soldier were far more valued than the substantial merits of the just lawgiver. But the career of Henry V. was not without its national benefit. From his time there was no false estimate in Europe of the prowess of the English; from his time there was no dream that the proud island might be subjugated. Even in the civil wars of the half century which succeeded Henry, England was unmolested from without. No king of France ever thought to avenge Agincourt by wearing the crown of England in right of conquest.—KNIGHT.

Henry V. was by far the greatest king in Christendom, and he deserved the estimation in which he was held, both for the grandeur and sincerity of his character, and for the greatness of the position which, not without many favoring circumstances on which he could not have counted, he had won. It was very much owing to his influence that the great schism was closed at Constance; it was the representative of the English Church who nominated Pope Martin V., the creator of the modern papacy. And although the result was one which ran counter to the immemorial policy of kings and Parliaments, of Church and State, the mischief of the consequences cannot be held to derogate from the greatness of the achievement. It is not too much to suppose that Henry, striking when the opportunity came, and continuing the task which he had undertaken without interruption, might have accomplished the subjugation and pacification of France, and realized the ambition of his life, the dream of his father and of his Lancastrian ancestors, by staying the progress of the Ottomans, and recovering the sepulcher of Christ. This was not to be; and he had already done more than on ordinary calculations could have been imagined, compassed more than it was in England's power alone to hold fast or to complete. England was nearly exhausted; it could only have been at the head of consolidated France and united Europe that he could have led the crusade. In him, then, the dying energies of mediæval life kindle for a short moment into flame. England rejoices in the light all the more because of the gloom that precedes and follows, and the efforts made by England, Parliament, Church, and nation, during the period, are not less remarkable than those made by the king. They prove that the system of government was capable of keeping pace with the great mind that inspired it, although the mass of the nation was, as it soon proved to be, not sufficiently advanced to maintain the system when the guiding hand was taken away.—  
STUBBS.

#### THE FUNERAL OF HENRY V.

*Dead March. Enter the Funeral of KING HENRY the Fifth, attended on by the DUKE OF BEDFORD, Regent of France; the DUKE OF GLOUCESTER, Protector; the DUKE OF EXETER, the EARL OF WARWICK, the BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, Heralds, etc.*

*Bed.* Hung be the heavens with black, yield day to night!  
Comets, importing change of times and states,

Brandish your crystal tresses in the sky,  
And with them scourge the bad revolting stars  
That have consented unto Henry's death!—  
King Henry the Fifth, too famous to live long!  
England ne'er lost a king of so much worth.

*Glou.* England ne'er had a king until his time.

Virtue he had, deserving to command:  
His brandished sword did blind men with his beams:  
His arms spread wider than a dragon's wings;  
His sparkling eyes, replete with wrathful fire,  
More dazzled and drove back his enemies  
Than midday sun fierce bent against their faces.  
What should I say? his deeds exceed all speech:  
He ne'er lift up his hand but conquerèd.

*Exe.* We mourn in black: why mourn we not in blood?  
Henry is dead, and never shall revive:

Upon a wooden coffin we attend,  
And death's dishonorable victory  
We with our stately presence glorify,  
Like captives bound to a triumphant car.  
What! shall we curse the planets of mishap  
That plotted thus our glory's overthrow?  
Or shall we think the subtle-witted French  
Conjurers and sorcerers, that afraid of him  
By magic verses have contrived his end?

*Win.* He was a king blessed of the King of kings.

Unto the French the dreadful judgment-day  
So dreadful will not be as was his sight.

The battles of the Lord of hosts he fought:

The Church's prayers made him so prosperous.

—*King Henry VI.*, Part I, Act i, Scene 1.

## CHAPTER VII.

## HENRY VI.

## ACCESSION OF HENRY VI.

THE death of Henry V. was an event which the English could not help feeling as a calamity of no ordinary kind. No other of their kings had ever been so lamented. In his brief reign of nine years and a half he had done more than Edward III. and the Black Prince had succeeded in effecting. He had virtually added another kingdom to his inheritance—a kingdom larger, richer, and with a finer climate than his own. He had compelled the king of France to disinherit his own son, and to adopt him as his heir, with the concurrence of the estates of the realm. Yet he was called away before he could secure these advantages on a satisfactory basis, and he was obliged to leave to others the task of vindicating for his son against the dauphin the rights that had been conceded to him by the treaty of Troyes.

It was a task that occupied the attention and fully engaged the energies of all England for a long time after. Nothing is more remarkable in the history of the next twenty years than the almost total absence of domestic events of any interest. The whole mind of the nation was absorbed with the war in France, and even the arrangements for the government at home were at first of subordinate importance. The crown of England was no longer a question in dispute. Though the son of Henry was an infant of only nine months old, the claims of the Earl of March were not for a moment thought of. Every Englishman desired that infant peacefully to succeed his father. The title to the crown of France was the only thing in question, and to maintain that every nerve was strained: on France all eyes were riveted.—GAIRDNER.

## BEDFORD AND GLOUCESTER.

The two men into whose hands the administration of Henry's dominions now fell were in singular contrast with one another. The two brothers were but a year apart in age—John was thirty-



three, Humphrey thirty-two. There was perhaps as little personal jealousy between them as could exist between two brothers so situated. Bedford was never jealous of Gloucester; Gloucester, if during his brother's absence he acted with little regard to his wishes, and aimed at power for himself irrespective of the national interest, was always amenable to Bedford's advice when he was present, and never ventured to withstand him to his face. In character, however, and in great aim and object of life, there was scarcely any thing in common between them. They seem, as it were, to have developed the different sides of their father's idiosyncrasy, or to have run back to a previous generation. Humphrey has all the adventurous spirit, the popular manners, the self-seeking and ambition that marked Henry IV.; he is still more like the great-uncle whose title he bore, and to whose fate his own death was so closely parallel—Thomas of Woodstock. John has all the seriousness, the statesmanship, the steady purpose, the high sense of public duty, that in a lower degree belonged to his father. He, although with a far higher type of character, in some points resembled the Black Prince. Bedford again has all the great qualities of Henry V. without his brilliance; Gloucester has all his popular characteristics without any of his greatness. The former was thoroughly trusted by Henry V., the latter was trusted only so far as was necessary. The Beauforts were, no doubt, intended by Henry to keep the balance steady. He knew that while to the actual wielders of sovereign power their personal interests are apt to be the first consideration, to a house in the position of the Beauforts the first object is the preservation of the dynasty. He had confided in them, and had found them faithful; Bedford trusted them, and also found them faithful. Gloucester, as Clarence had been, was opposed to them, and the jealousy, which he missed no opportunity of showing, was one cause of the destruction of his house. Gloucester was the evil genius of his family; his selfish ambition abroad broke up the Burgundian alliance, his selfish ambition at home broke up the unity of the Lancastrian power; he lived long enough to ruin his nephew—not long enough to show whether he had the will or the power to save him. Yet the reaction provoked by his competitors for power invested him with some popularity while he lived, and won for him the posthumous reputation of being the pillar of the State, and the friend of the Commons. Clever, popular, amiable, and cultivated, he was without strong principle, and, what was

more fatal than the want of principle, was devoid of that insight into the real position of his house and nation which Henry IV., Henry V., and Bedford undoubtedly had; he would not, or could not, see that the House of Lancaster was on its trial, and that England had risked her all on that issue.—STUBBS.

#### THE SIEGE OF ORLEANS.

By the ability and vigor of the Duke of Bedford's administration the English not only succeeded in maintaining their conquests for several years, but even gained ground upon their enemies. For a time they made themselves undisputed masters of nearly the whole territory north of the Loire; and in the summer of 1428 it was determined to make one great effort to drive the forces of Charles south of that river. Accordingly, reinforcements having arrived from England under the Earl of Salisbury, an advance was made upon Orleans. After taking several places round about, the English laid siege to the city in October. The undertaking was a great one. Salisbury caused sixty forts to be built about the city, to prevent succors being sent in; and on six of the largest he planted batteries which opened fire upon the walls. In course of time the English gained possession of a tower which commanded the city. From a window in this tower Salisbury one day took a survey of the fortifications, when a shot from the besieged shattered the iron casement, so that the earl was mortally wounded by the fragments. His command was immediately taken by the Earl of Suffolk.—GAIRDNER.

#### BATTLE OF HERRINGS.

The siege continued for several months, and in the spring of the following year [1429] gave rise to a remarkable action called the Battle of Herrings. At the beginning of Lent Sir John Fastolf, a brave warrior, who, having distinguished himself at Agincourt and elsewhere, had been intrusted with the government of Normandy, and afterward with that of Anjou and Maine, was commissioned by the regent to conduct a convoy of provisions, chiefly consisting of salt fish, to Orleans for the use of the besiegers. The French, having ascertained that such a convoy was to be sent, determined to intercept it upon the road. Fastolf had an escort of seventeen hundred men, but the enemy came upon him in superior numbers. He, however, intrenched his men behind the wagons

containing the provisions, and they not only sustained the attack without flinching, but fought so bravely that they threw their assailants into confusion. As soon as it appeared that they began to give way, Fastolf ordered the barricade to be removed, and the enemy were pursued with very great slaughter. Among the slain were six and twenty officers of distinction.

#### JOAN OF ARC.

The fall of Orleans seemed now inevitable. The policy of undertaking the siege of such a city had been doubted by Bedford in the first instance. The effort had certainly taxed the resources of England to the utmost; but apparently it was about to be crowned with success. The besieged were reduced to almost utter despair, when one of the most marvelous occurrences of history put an end to their suspense.

In the month of February, 1429, about the very time that Sir John Fastolf disconcerted the attempt of the French to surprise his convoy of herrings, a young woman in a remote province of France presented herself before the commanding officer of the district, declaring that she had a divine commission to succor Orleans and to conduct King Charles to Rheims, to be crowned after the manner of his ancestors. The name of this enthusiast was Jeanne d'Arc, or as some French antiquarians prefer to write it, Darc; but for ages the French themselves have spelled it with an apostrophe, and in English we have been accustomed to call her Joan of Arc. She was a native of the village of Domremy, on the Meuse, in the Duchy of Bar, on the borders of Lorraine. She was of poor but pious parents. Even from her girlish years she had seen visions and heard voices from heaven, and so persuaded was she of her divine mission that she had kept herself unmarried against the wish of her father. The officer to whom she made known her intentions naturally thought her at first a person of deranged intellect; but on further consideration he determined to comply with her request and send her to King Charles, who was then at Chinon in Touraine. Dressed and armed like a man, she set out in the company of two neighbors, a herald, an archer, and two pages, on a journey of almost two hundred and fifty miles, through a country intersected by numerous rivers and mostly in the possession of the English. On March 5 she arrived at Chinon, after eleven days traveling.

## MARVELOUS STORIES ABOUT HER.

On her coming to the king it is related that she gave evidence, in more ways than one, of the possession of supernatural gifts. It is said that she identified Charles in a dress like that of his courtiers, and revealed to him a secret known only to himself. She also demanded and had given to her a sword, from a church in Touraine; which sword, according to the most marvelous reports, she described minutely before seeing it, although it was buried in the ground beneath the altar. Whatever may have been the facts, she succeeded in persuading people that she had been sent either by God or by the devil. Belief in all sorts of occult influences was in this age particularly strong, and Charles commissioned a number of divines to inquire as to the source of her inspiration. The purity of her patriotism—the genuineness of her religious feeling—were such as to make a sinister interpretation impossible, and the divines reported that she had clearly a call from heaven. She was accordingly furnished with a charger, a suit of armor, and a banner after her own directions; and with a squire and three other attendants she set forth upon her mission. She sent a formal summons to the Duke of Bedford to raise the siege as he would avoid the wrath of God. This the English treated with the contempt which might have been expected. But the maid came to Blois where a force had assembled to make a great effort for the relief of Orleans. She was allowed to take the command of this detachment, and she gave stringent orders to free the camp of all loose characters, and ordered every soldier to be confessed. She then, by a rapid march, arrived in two days before Orleans. After the first night's camping out she took the sacrament in presence of the troops. A multitude of dissolute soldiers, suddenly animated by a new spirit, bent their knees before their priests and did the same. The whole army was raised out of despondency to the highest pitch of enthusiasm; and rumors of the holiness and of the miracles of the maid were repeated even in the English camp.

Even where her over-confidence might have been disastrous it had the effect of increasing her repute. She had proposed to come upon Orleans by the right bank of the Loire through the thick of the English army. In this she was overruled by the generals, who took her the other way. But when she saw the river between her and the city, she insisted that the troops should return to Blois and

go against Orleans by the north side. To satisfy her the main body of the army was dismissed, but she herself was persuaded to embark a few miles up the stream to conduct a convoy of provisions into the city. The wind and tide were contrary when she yielded to the entreaties of the marshals. But the wind changed, so that the vessels came up from Orleans, and she embarked. At night-fall she entered the city, bringing victuals and stores for the garrison. She was received as if she had been an angel from heaven, and rode through the streets on a white charger, amid the acclamations of the people.

After this she directed operations against some of the forts surrounding the city, and obtained possession of four successively after inflicting great losses on the besiegers. The English had lost all spirit for the fight. They were persuaded that a power now fought against them that was more than human. Already the siege had lasted seven months, and it was difficult to maintain the strain much longer. The besieging army withdrew on May 12, pursued by the French in its retreat. Misfortunes began to overtake the English arms on all sides. The Earl of Suffolk was made prisoner at the capture of Jargeau. The brave Lord Talbot was made prisoner at the battle of Patay. The regent Bedford was forced to return once more to Paris, and wrote home to the government in England that the tide of success had been turned by "a limb of the Fiend," called by the enemy the Pucelle. Such were the terms in which even he did not disdain to speak of the heroic maid!

#### CHARLES CROWNED AT RHEIMS, JULY 17.

She now persuaded Charles to march to Rheims that he might be crowned. He set out at the head of ten thousand men, summoning the towns to surrender as he went along. After a short resistance Troyes capitulated, and Chalons followed its example. The citizens of Rheims then drove out the English garrison, and presented the keys to Charles, who entered the city in triumph. The coronation took place the day after.

#### HENRY CROWNED IN ENGLAND.

The maid had accomplished her mission, and would now have withdrawn once more into private life; but the king persuaded her to remain in his service, and expressed his gratitude for what she

had done by granting her native village of Domremy a perpetual exemption from tributes. The effect of the coronation was seen immediately afterward in the surrender of a large number of other towns to Charles, while Bedford felt himself so weak that he did not dare hazard a blow in their defense. He sent pressing messages to England for re-enforcements, and urged that, to counterbalance the coronation of Charles, the boy King Henry should also be crowned king of France. The English council agreed with this advice, but thought it desirable that he should first be crowned in England. That ceremony was accordingly performed on November 6 at Westminster; and as it implied that Henry, though only eight years old, entered then on the actual functions of royalty, the Parliament decreed a few days later that the title of Protector given to the Duke of Bedford and to Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, should from that time cease.

Two whole years elapsed after the coronation at Westminster before Henry could be crowned in France. He went thither in 1430, accompanied by Cardinal Beaufort, leaving the Duke of Gloucester in England as guardian of the realm. He seems to have stayed at Rouen the whole of that year and the next, and only toward the close of the year 1431 he went to Paris, where he was crowned on December 16. Bedford would fain have carried him through the country to Rheims and had the ceremony performed there; but it was found impossible to make the attempt with safety. The journey, even to the capital, was not wholly free from danger; for Charles had already approached dangerously near to Paris while the regent was in Normandy. The latter was also conscious that he could not greatly rely on the constancy of the Duke of Burgundy, to whom he gave up the provinces of Champagne and La Brie\* in order to secure his friendship.

#### CAPTURE OF JOAN OF ARC.

But in the meantime an event had occurred which revived considerably the spirits of the English. The Duke of Burgundy, gratified by the cession of Champagne, laid siege to Compiègne. The Pucelle, hearing of the attempt, threw herself into the town, not altogether, as it is supposed, to the satisfaction of the governor, who did not desire to share with a woman the glory of defending

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\* La Brie was a district to the west of Champagne proper, nearly corresponding with the modern department of Seine and Marne.

it. On May 25, 1431, she made a sortie, but was obliged to retire. Her retreat, however, was cut off, orders having been given, either by mistake or malice, to shut the gates of the town and to raise the draw-bridge. Under these circumstances she was compelled to yield herself a prisoner to the officers of the Duke of Burgundy.\* The English were delighted beyond measure at the incident, and the Regent Bedford lost no time in obtaining from the Burgundian general her delivery into his own hands. The English government then instituted a process against her for witchcraft before ecclesiastical judges, by whom she was found guilty; but on recanting her pretensions of a divine mission her life was spared, and she was condemned to be imprisoned for life and fed on bread and water. This humiliation might have been sufficient to satisfy the vengeance of her enemies; but further punishment was in store for her. In her recantation she abjured from thenceforth the wearing of male attire; but after her return to prison her own armor was left in her way, and she could not resist the temptation to put it on. The act was observed by spies, a new information was laid against her, and it was at once determined to carry out the capital sentence already passed upon her, as upon a relapsed heretic. She was burned to death in the market-place at Rouen, on May 30, 1431.

The cruelty and vindictiveness of this wicked act did not help to retrieve the fortunes of the English in France. Superstitious fear seems to have largely influenced her persecutors, but they were not relieved from it by her death. The Church had pronounced sentence upon her, most of the judges were her own countrymen, and even Charles did not make an effort to save her; but the English themselves could not feel satisfied that all was fair. The majority might still talk of her as a witch and a sorceress, but those who had witnessed her deeds and sufferings were not without a sense that an innocent woman had been slain and that God would take vengeance on the act. The war went on languidly. The French obtained possession of Chartres, and the lukewarmness of Burgundy as an ally was more manifest every day. At home people were becoming weary of the cost of the protracted struggle. Efforts were made by the Pope to negotiate a peace, which came to nothing, as the English refused to acknowledge Charles as king of France. But Bedford himself was well aware that his power of maintaining the struggle was no longer what it had been.—GAIRDNER.

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\* See "King Henry VI.," Part I, Act v, Scene 3.

## PEACE DESIRED.

Both countries had great cause to wish for peace. France was overrun by robber bands, popularly called *Ecorcheurs*, or flayers, who not only waylaid and plundered their victims, but stripped them of every vestige of clothing, leaving them nothing but their shirts. These freebooters attacked defenseless men of either party, and could not be controlled by either government. Nothing could exceed the misery of a country so long desolated by war and rapine.

But the need of peace for England was even greater, and the English council, under the guidance of Cardinal Beaufort, thought that it might be promoted by the liberation of the Duke of Orleans, who had remained a prisoner in England ever since the days of Agincourt. This proposition was directly opposed to the advice given by Henry V. on his death-bed, and it met with the strongest opposition from the Duke of Gloucester; but the young king, who was now rapidly advancing to manhood, deferred much more to the advice of his grand-uncle the cardinal than to that of his uncle Gloucester. The Duke of Orleans engaged that if permitted to return to his country he would use his best efforts for peace. He took oath never to bear arms against England, and to pay a ransom of 60,000 crowns, which was to be remitted to him if his efforts for peace were successful; and he was allowed to go.—GAIRDNER.

## MARRIAGE OF HENRY VI.

The death of Bedford had left Cardinal Beaufort at the head of the party who desired a reasonable peace. But Beaufort was old, and the influence of Gloucester, as first prince of the blood and the leader of the popular party, kept him much aloof from public business. In his place there arose a new minister, De La Pole, Earl of Suffolk. This man, a descendant of a wealthy merchant in the reign of Edward III., and grandson of the favorite of Richard II., was fully engaged upon the side of the Lancastrian dynasty. He had been taken prisoner after the siege of Orleans, and had in France formed connections which pointed him out as a fitting person to manage negotiations with that country. It was determined, if possible, to make the marriage of the young king with a French princess the basis of a peace. The princess fixed on was Margaret, the daughter of René, Duke of Bar, representative of the



Angevin\* House, the titular king of Sicily and of Jerusalem. Suffolk undertook to manage the delicate negotiation, although conscious, it would seem, of the obloquy he would probably meet. He succeeded in obtaining an armistice to extend from June, 1444, till April, 1446, and the marriage treaty was completed; but so far from receiving a dower with his wife, as might have been expected, (but which her father, who had surrendered his duchy to the Duke of Burgundy, was unable to give,) it was arranged that Henry should surrender to the French, as the price of their consent, all that was left to the English of Anjou and Maine, where the war was still being carried on. In carrying out this arrangement Suffolk had the consent of the privy council, but it is probable that they did not contemplate so complete a cession of English rights. His successful return secured him the title of marquis, and the friendship of the young queen, (whose masculine mind soon got entire command of her husband's will,) and enabled him to hold a position of complete superiority in the English councils.—BRIGHT.

#### DEATH OF CARDINAL BEAUFORT.

Within a very short time after the death of Gloucester his old rival, Cardinal Beaufort, also died. The idea that Gloucester had been murdered, and the fact that Beaufort so soon followed him to the grave, made a deep impression on the popular imagination. In after times it was said that the cardinal had died in agonies of remorse; and this view of the case is vividly represented by Shakespeare in the play. But there is very good warrant for believing it to be unfounded. A witness tells us that when he was on the point of death he summoned the clergy of his cathedral to his palace, caused requiems and other services to be chanted for his departing soul, ordered his will to be read aloud, and some corrections to be made in it, and finally took a solemn farewell of all his friends. Apparently, on the rise of Suffolk, his advice was no longer asked on State affairs, and he applied himself from that time undisturbed to the duties of his bishopric.†

#### JACK CADE'S REBELLION.

This event, which more than any thing else in Henry's reign proves his utter incapacity for government, serves also to show how

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\* From Anjou.

† See "King Henry VI.," Part II, Act III, Scene 3.

helpless the removal of Suffolk had left him. Of the two men who would most naturally have taken the lead in council, the Duke of Somerset was in France, the Duke of York was in Ireland. The Lord Say and Sele, who was one of the special objects of popular hatred, was the king's treasurer. Cardinal Kemp, the chancellor, was scarcely fitter than Henry himself to deal with an armed mob. The condition of the country would have tasked much stronger and more unscrupulous men. The nation was exhausted by taxation, impatient of peace, thoroughly imbued with mistrust. Cade, and the party which used him—for there were not wanting signs and symptoms of much more crafty guidance—based their complaints and demands on the existence of grievances, political, constitutional, and local, which could not be gainsaid. They united in one comprehensive manifesto the loss of Normandy, the promotion of favorites, the exclusion of the lords of the blood royal from council, the interferences with county elections, and the peculiar oppressions of the commons of Kent. The leader took the name of John Mortimer, and declared himself to be cousin of the Duke of York. He found means to collect around him, from Kent, Surrey, and Sussex, a force to which he gave a semblance of order and discipline, and which was arranged very much as it would have been if called on to serve under the regular local administration. He proclaimed that he came to correct public abuses, and remove evil counselors. On the 1st of June he encamped at Blackheath. On the 6th Henry reached London. On the 11th, with twenty thousand men, he marched on Blackheath, from whence Cade had retreated; on the 18th a part of the royal force was cut to pieces at Sevenoaks; but the spirit of mutiny broke out in the rest; the king was obliged to send the treasurer to the Tower, either to appease the mutineers or to save the minister. Deserted by his army, the unhappy king retired to Kenilworth. The mayor and citizens of London offered to stand by him, but Henry had no confidence either in them or in himself. On his departure the rebels returned; Cade entered London on the 3d of July, and on the 4th the treasurer was seized and beheaded. On the 5th, in a battle on London bridge, the rebels were defeated, and the city freed from their presence. The chancellor then offered pardons, already sealed, to Cade and his followers. The pardons were accepted, the rebels dispersed—Cade to plunder and ravage, the more honest followers to their own homes. His subsequent conduct was not such as to justify his pardon, and no

pardon could have a prospective validity to cover his new crimes. A reward was set on his head, and soon after he was killed in Kent. The disturbances did not end here. Anarchy was spreading from the moment that Henry was seen to be incompetent. In Wiltshire Bishop Ascough of Salisbury had been murdered in June. The malcontents in Kent elected a new captain after Cade's death; but the Government speedily recovered from the panic into which they had fallen, and the severe executions which followed attested the sincerity of the alarm.\*—STUBBS.

#### THE DUKE OF YORK'S PLANS.

*York.* Now, York, or never, steel thy fearful thoughts,  
 And change misdoubt to resolution:  
 Be that thou hopest to be, or what thou art  
 Resign to death; it is not worth the enjoying:  
 Let pale-faced fear keep with the mean-born man,  
 And find no harbor in a royal heart.  
 Faster than spring-time showers comes thought on thought,  
 And not a thought but thinks on dignity.  
 My brain, more busy than the laboring spider,  
 Weaves tedious snares to trap mine enemies.  
 Well, nobles, well, 'tis politicly done,  
 To send me packing with an host of men:  
 I fear me you but warm the starvèd snake,  
 Who, cherished in your breasts, will sting your hearts.  
 'Twas men I lacked, and you will give them me:  
 I take it kindly, yet be well assured  
 You put sharp weapons in a madman's hands.  
 Whiles I in Ireland nourish a mighty band,  
 I will stir up in England some black storm  
 Shall blow ten thousand souls to heaven or hell;  
 And this fell tempest shall not cease to rage  
 Until the golden circuit on my head,  
 Like to the glorions sun's transparent beams,  
 Do calm the fury of this mad-bred flaw.  
 And, for a minister of my intent,  
 I have seduced a headstrong Kentishman,  
 John Cade of Ashford,

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\* See "King Henry VI.," Part II, Act IV, Scenes 2-10.

To make commotion, as full well he can,  
 Under the title of John Mortimer.  
 In Ireland have I seen this stubborn Cade  
 Oppose himself against a troop of kerns,  
 And fought so long, till that his thighs with darts  
 Were almost like a sharp-quilled porpentine;  
 And, in the end being rescued, I have seen  
 Him caper upright like a wild Morisco,  
 Shaking the bloody darts as he his bells.  
 Full often, like a shag-haired crafty kern,  
 Hath he conversèd with the enemy,  
 And, undiscovered, come to me again,  
 And given me notice of their villanies.  
 This devil here shall be my substitute;  
 For that John Mortimer, which now is dead,  
 In face, in gait, in speech, he doth resemble:  
 By this I shall perceive the Commons' mind,  
 How they affect the house and claim of York.  
 Say he be taken, racked, and tortured,  
 I know no pain they can inflict upon him  
 Will make him say I moved him to those arms.  
 Say that he thrive—as 'tis great like he will—  
 Why, then from Ireland come I with my strength,  
 And reap the harvest which that rascal sowed;  
 For Humphrey being dead, as he shall be,  
 And Henry put apart, the next for me.

—*King Henry VI.*, Part II, Act iii, Scene 1.

#### REVOLT OF THE DUKE OF YORK.

While public feeling was in this irritable condition, York, suddenly leaving his government of Ireland without leave, appeared on the Welsh border with four thousand of his vassals. In this threatening manner, and accompanied by the Duke of Norfolk, the Earls of Devonshire and Salisbury, the whole clan of the Nevilles, and the Lords Cromwell and Cobham, he appeared at Westminster. Meanwhile, Somerset, the acknowledged head of the rival party, returned from France, and received the office of constable. The parties were assuming form, and a crisis was evidently at hand. York made a formal demand for the dismissal of Somerset, and the punishment of the Duchess of Suffolk. As yet, however, the Gov-

ernment was strong enough to refuse these demands, and during the whole of the year 1451, without any public acts, the quarrel was becoming more embittered. In Devonshire Lord Bonville was at open war with the Earl of Devonshire. In the North, Percy (Lord Egremont) was fighting with the Earl of Salisbury; and in the winter the Welsh vassals of York were gathered around the castle of Ludlow. Hitherto, York and his partisans had persistently declared themselves the faithful servants of the Crown, interested only in the removal of the king's bad ministers. None the less, in the beginning of the year 1452 Somerset and the king marched into the west, where York had been collecting his vassals, while York, moving in the opposite direction, passed the royal troops, and appeared in Kent, where he felt sure of support.

This summoned the king back toward London; he took up his position at Blackheath, and there received the demands of York, to which he consented, promising to imprison Somerset, and to form a new council. Trusting to this promise, York disbanded his army, and went to have an interview with the king. He there discovered, to his dismay, that he had been deceived. His rival was in the tent, and evidently still in favor. Hot words were exchanged, but ultimately York was compelled to renew his oath of loyalty, and the Somerset party for the instant triumphed.\*—BRIGHT.

#### PROTECTORATE OF YORK.

This triumph was of short duration. News arrived of the failure of the new expedition for the rescue of Guienne, and of the death of Talbot, (Lord Shrewsbury,) its leader, at Castillon. And worse than that, the king, who had all his life suffered both from bodily and intellectual weakness, fell into a condition of hopeless imbecility. Under these circumstances, the birth of a prince called Edward, which might have added to the strength of the Lancastrian party, was but a source of weakness. York, as heir presumptive to the throne of a sickly monarch, might have been contented to wait; the birth of a new heir-apparent urged him to do what he had to do quickly. The opportunity, too, now offered itself; during the imbecility of the king, some regent was wanted; there was no excuse for passing over York. An instant change of government was the consequence. Somerset was apprehended. Even the Par-

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\* See "King Henry VI.," Part II, Act v, Scene 1.

liament chosen under the Lancastrian influence could not refuse, after it had obtained proof of Henry's folly, to appoint Richard. The amount of authority given him seems to have been exactly that which Gloucester had enjoyed. He was president of the council, and chief executive officer. His office was terminable at the royal will. Though thus limited, his power was sufficient to enable him to change the constitution of the council, to carry through a breach of parliamentary privilege by imprisoning for a debt Thorpe the speaker, and, on the death of Cardinal Kemp, to appoint his brother-in-law, Richard Neville, Earl of Salisbury, to the chancellorship.

But the supremacy of York disappeared as suddenly as it had arisen. At the end of 1454, on Christmas-day, the king recovered his senses. Every thing was immediately reversed. Somerset was taken from the Tower and declared innocent. York's officers were displaced. True to the policy of his house, Henry restored the chancellorship to the Church by the appointment of Thomas Bouchier, Archbishop of Canterbury. But York had now determined upon an appeal to arms. Urged by fear of Somerset, and by dislike to the secondary position which the prince's birth had given him, and in company with the Nevilles, Lord Salisbury, and his son, the Earl of Warwick, he advanced toward London, to forestall the action of the Parliament summoned to meet at Leicester, which he expected to be hostile to him.

#### BATTLE OF ST. ALBANS.

At the same time the royal troops were marching northward. The two forces consequently met. From Royston, York wrote a letter still declaring his loyalty, and stating his conditions. It was unanswered, and on the 21st of May the armies met at St. Albans. The king had with him the Dukes of Somerset and Buckingham, the Earls of Northumberland, Pembroke, Devonshire, Stafford, Dorset, Wiltshire, Clifford, and Sudely. The battle was fought in the town, and the victory, chiefly owing to Warwick, fell to the Duke of York. Somerset, Northumberland, and Clifford fell. Most of the other leaders were wounded, and the king himself was suffering from an arrow wound when York and the Nevilles came to him, knelt before him, begged his favor, and carried him with them in apparent harmony to London.\*—BRIGHT.

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\* See "King Henry VI.," Part II, Act v, Scenes 2, 3.

## CHARACTER OF THE TWO PARTIES.

On examining the chief names which occur as those of the leaders on either side in this the first battle of the Wars of the Roses, it will be seen that it was the Nevilles and Norfolk chiefly on whom York relied; his own relations, the Percies, and other gentlemen of the North, which constituted the strength of Henry's party. There seems to have been three principles of division at work—family, geographical position, political views; and with regard to family, it would seem that the quarrel was one of very long standing, dating back as far as the reign of Richard II. It has been already pointed out that there was constantly some branch or other of the Plantagenet party in opposition to the reigning branch, which took for its cry reform of government and the good cause of England. In Richard II.'s reign Gloucester had represented this party. If we take the names of the Lords appellants in the year 1387, we find them to be Gloucester and Derby, Plantagenets; Warwick, a Beauchamp; Nottingham, a Mowbray; and Arundel. Now, of these, the second, Derby, became afterward king as Henry IV., and the opposition which he had at one time helped to direct was turned against himself and his family. The families of Mowbray and of Arundel had coalesced in the Duke of Norfolk. The heiress of the Beauchamps had married the Earl of Salisbury's son, Richard Neville, who with his wife had inherited the title of Warwick. The addition, therefore, to the party was that of the important family of the Nevilles, which had been consistently faithful to Henry IV. But this family had now become allied by marriage with the Duke of York himself (who had married Cecily Neville) with the Duke of Norfolk, and, as we have seen, with the family of Beauchamp. In addition to this, the fact that the rival house of the Percies had, since the restoration of the son of Hotspur, been firm supporters of the Lancastrian dynasty, would have been enough to put the Nevilles on the opposite side. The two families had ever been rivals for the chief influence in the north of England; and even now Lord Egremont, a Percy, was at open war with the Earl of Salisbury in the neighborhood of York. Of the leaders appearing on the side of Henry, Northumberland was a Percy, and therefore enemy of the Nevilles; Somerset was a Beaufort, and of the Lancastrian house; Pembroke and Richmond were the king's half-brothers; Clifford was one of the great lords of the north, and an opponent

of the Nevilles; Wiltshire was James Butler of Ormond, of that family whose misgovernment York had been sent to cure. Of Buckingham and the Staffords, whose mother was a Plantagenet, it may be supposed that in the family quarrel they preferred the reigning house.

This seems to lead to the conclusion that in the main the war was a fight of faction, a tissue of hereditary family rivalries resting upon merely personal grounds. But beyond these there were geographical and political reasons which had their influence on the bulk of the nation. The demand for reform of government, the support given to the national prejudice in favor of continued war, and the opposition to the strong church views of the government, had rendered the party of York distinctly the popular one. The north of England was always more subject than the south to baronial influence. It was in the south, therefore, in Kent, and in the trading cities, that the strength of the Yorkist party chiefly lay. To this, of course, must be added the very large estates held by York himself, as the heir of the Mortimers in the west; and the vast property of the various branches of the Nevilles. On the other hand, the Lancastrian party was that of the lower nobility, and of the Church, and found its strength in the baronial north. Politically, to speak broadly, it was the party of the conservative gentry and the High-Church, pitted against the party of reform of Church and State headed by a few great nobles; geographically, it was the north withstanding the attacks of the south.

#### THE DUKE OF YORK CLAIMS THE CROWN.

The king collected his forces at Coventry and went on to Northampton, where he was met by the army of the confederate lords, [July 10.] In a brief but sharp engagement the royal forces were defeated and the king himself taken prisoner. He was conducted to London, and of course the government fell into the hands of the victors. New officers of state were appointed and a Parliament was summoned which met at Westminster in October. Here the attainders of the Duke of York and his party were reversed. But before it had sat many days the Duke of York himself came over from Ireland, and his appearance gave rise to proceedings of a kind altogether unusual.

He arrived in London with a retinue of 500 men, proceeded to



Westminster, and took up quarters in the royal palace. On October 16 he entered the House of Lords, took his seat on the king's throne, and delivered to the chancellor a writing in which he claimed the crown for himself by lineal descent from Edward III., and maintained that Henry was not rightful king. He was, in fact, descended from Lionel, Duke of Clarence, the elder brother of John of Gaunt, from whom Henry and the last two kings had derived their title. Many historians have been of opinion that he had been ambitious to vindicate this claim all along; but it must be confessed that before this time he had always conducted himself with remarkable moderation, and when we consider the bad faith he had repeatedly experienced from the opposite party, owing to the weakness of the king and the overbearing character of his consort, we can quite well understand that he may have been led to advance his pretensions from other motives than mere ambition. At the same time, it naturally seemed to the peers an unprecedented thing to deprive a king like Henry of his crown after he and his family had worn it for three generations. The greater number of the lords stayed away from the house; but the duke insisting on an answer, those present referred the matter to the king himself, desiring to know what he could allege in opposition to the duke's claim. The king consulted his judges and lawyers, but they declined to advise him in a matter of such grave responsibility; so that finally it was referred again to the lords, who gave it as their opinion that the duke's title could not be defeated. But as Henry VI. had been actually crowned as king and they had all sworn fealty to him, it was suggested as a compromise and agreed to by both parties, that he should be allowed to retain the crown for life, but that the duke and his heirs should succeed after Henry's death. This arrangement was embodied in an act of Parliament which received the royal assent; and Henry, wearing his crown upon his head, made a public procession to St. Paul's, accompanied by the duke as heir-apparent, to give it greater solemnity.\*—GAIRDNER.

#### BATTLE OF MORTIMER'S CROSS.

Edward Earl of March, the Duke of York's eldest son, had left London shortly before his father and gone into the borders of Wales. He was at Gloucester when he received the news of his

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\*See "King Henry VI.," Part III, Act 1, Scene 1.

father's death.\* He immediately moved on to Shrewsbury. The men of the Country flocked to him in numbers, eager to offer their services against Queen Margaret. But hearing that Jasper Tudor, Earl of Pembroke, the half brother of King Henry, was raising forces in Wales along with James Butler, Earl of Ormond, who brought some bands of Irishmen into the field, he turned back and met them at Mortimer's Cross to the south of Wigmore, in Herefordshire, where he thoroughly defeated them on Candlemas-day, 1461.† It is said that on the morning of that day, just before the battle, he was struck by the appearance of the sun; for it seemed as if three suns were seen together in the sky, and that they all at once merged into one, an omen of approaching success by which he was greatly encouraged. The Earls of Pembroke and Wiltshire fled from the field; but Sir Owen Tudor, Pembroke's father, was taken prisoner, and was beheaded at Hereford along with some others.

#### SIR OWEN TUDOR.

Sir Owen Tudor deserves notice here as being the ancestor of a line of kings and queens who afterward sat upon the English throne. He was a Welsh chieftain of handsome person and great accomplishments, who boasted a pedigree from the ancient line of Cadwallader, the last king of the Britons. Perhaps the possession of such a lineage placed him, in his own eyes, on a level with kings and princes; but whether it was due to this, or to his own personal merits, he succeeded in producing such an impression on the French princess, Catherine, widow of Henry V., that she became his wife. By her he had, besides some other children, two sons, who being the half-brothers of Henry VI., were afterward raised to the peerage. Edmund, the eldest, was created Earl of Richmond, and became the father of King Henry VII. Jasper, the second, was made Earl of Pembroke; and it is he who was, as we have seen, defeated by Young Edward Earl of March at Mortimer's Cross.

#### SECOND BATTLE OF ST. ALBANS.

But although Edward had gained a signal victory, Queen Margaret had profited by the resistance offered to him in Wales, and drew toward London with a host of northern men who devastated

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\* See "King Henry VI.," Part III, Act 1, Scene 4.

† See "King Henry VI.," Part III, Act II, Scene 1.

the country as they went along. The Earl of Warwick brought the king out of London and met her at St. Albans, where, for a second time, a battle was fought in this civil war. On this occasion the queen's party were victorious, and the Yorkists were put to flight. The king, who had been left behind, was again at liberty and was rejoined by his wife and son. He issued a proclamation against the Earl of March, who was now on his way toward London; but Edward, joining his forces with the remainder of Warwick's army, marched on unopposed, and was received with acclamations as he entered the city. For the citizens, who had always favored his father, were now driven to take part with him all the more in consequence of what they heard of the depredations committed by Margaret's northern troops.\*

Being, therefore, now lodged in the capital and assured of the friendship of the people, Edward summoned a council of lords, before whom he declared his right to the crown of England; and it was determined to depose King Henry on the ground that he had broken the agreement made with the Duke of York in the last Parliament, and shown himself besides incompetent to rule. The lords accordingly named Edward king. That day, at a great meeting in St. John's Field, the people were asked if they would accept the Earl of March as their sovereign. Cries of "Yea, yea. King Edward!" filled the air, with great shouts and clapping of hands. A deputation of lords and commons then waited upon him at Baynard's Castle, the mansion of his father in Thames Street, to notify to him his election as king. He accepted the dignity, proceeded in state to St. Paul's and afterward to Westminster, and from that day began to rule.—GAIRDNER.

#### OVERTHROW OF THE HOUSE OF LANCASTER.

The overthrow of the House of Lancaster was not in itself a national act. The nation acquiesced in, approved and accepted it, because it had no great love for the king, because it distrusted the queen and the ministers and policy which she represented, because it had exhausted its strength and longed for peace. The House of Lancaster, although practically, was not put formally upon its trial. Henry was not deposed for incompetency or misgovernment, but set aside on the claim of a legitimate heir whose right he was

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\* See "King Henry VI.," Part II, Act v, Scenes 2 and 3.

regarded as usurping. But such a claim would not have been admitted except on two conditions; the House of York could not have unseated the House of Lancaster unless the first had been exceedingly strong, and the second exceedingly weak. The House of York was strong in the character and reputation of Duke Richard, in the early force and energy of Edward, in the great popularity of Warwick, in the wealth and political ability of the family party which he led. But its great advantage lay in the weakness of the House of Lancaster. That weakness was proved in almost every possible way. The impulse which had set Henry IV. on the throne, as the hereditary champion of constitutional right, and as personally the deliverer from odious tyranny, had long been exhausted. The new impulse which Henry V. had created in his character of a great conqueror, a national hero, and a good ruler, had become exhausted too; its strength it proved by the fact that it was not exhausted sooner. Since the death of Gloucester and Beaufort, in 1447, every thing had gone wrong; the conquests of Henry V. were lost, the crown was bankrupt, the peace was badly kept, the nation distrusted the ministers, the ministers contemned, although they did not, perhaps, deserve the distrust of the nation. Henry himself never seems to have looked upon his royal character as involving the responsibility of leadership; he yielded on every pressure, trusted implicitly in every pretended reconciliation, and, unless we are to charge him with faults of dissimulation with which his enemies never charged him personally, behaved as if his position as a constitutional monarch involved his acting as the puppet of each temporary majority. Without Margaret, he might have reigned as long as he lived, and, perhaps, have outlived the exhaustion under which the nation after the struggle with France was laboring. He might with another wife have transmitted his crown to his posterity, as Henry III. had done, who was not less despised and much more hated. But in Margaret, from the very moment of her arrival, was concentrated the weakness and the strength of the dynastic cause; its strength in her indomitable will, her steady faithfulness, her heroic defense of the rights of her husband and child; its weakness in her political position, her policy, and her ministers. To the nation she symbolized the loss of Henry V.'s conquests, an inglorious peace, the humiliation of the popular Gloucester, the promotion of the unpopular Beauforts. Her domestic policy was one of jealous exclusion. She mistrusted the Duke of York, and probably

with good cause; she knew the soundness of his pedigree, and looked on him from the first as a competitor for the crown of her husband and son. She was drawn to the Beauforts and to Suffolk by the knowledge that their interests were entirely one with the interests of the dynasty. She supported them against all attacks, and when they perished continued the policy which they had shared. The weight of their unpopularity devolved on her, and she was unpopular enough already. Still she might have held out, especially if she had known how to use the pliancy and simplicity of her husband. But when the nation began to believe that she was in league with the national enemies; when she began to wage a civil war, pitting the north against the south, and it was believed that her northern army was induced to follow her by the hope of being allowed to plunder the rich southern farms and cities; when she stirred up, or was believed to have stirred up, the Irish against the Duke of York, the French against Calais, and the Scots against the peace of England, she lost all the ground that was left her. The days were long past when the English barons could call in French or Scottish aid against a tyrant; no king of England had yet made his throne strong by foreign help. It was fatal here. Men began to believe that she was an adulteress or her son a changeling. Her whole strength lay henceforth in the armed forces she was able to bring into the field, and a defeat in battle was fatal and final. Warwick saw his advantage, prepared his forces, grasped success at the critical moment, and triumphed in the field over a foe whose whole strength was in the field. Thus the House of Lancaster fell without any formal condemnation, without any constitutional impeachment. Henry had not ruled ill, but had gradually failed to rule at all. His foreign policy was not in itself unwise, but was unpopular and unfortunate. His incapacity and the failure of the men whom he trusted, opened the way for York and the Nevilles; and the weaker went to the wall. National exhaustion and weariness completed what royal exhaustion and weakness had begun. Spirit and ability supplanted simple incapacity; the greater force overcame the smaller; national apathy co-operated with national disgust; and the decision which the fortune of war had adjudged, the national conscience, judgment, and reason accepted. The present decision of the struggle neither depended on constitutional principles nor was ascertained by constitutional means. In the general survey of history, the justification of the change is to be

found in this—that England, as at the northern conquest, needed a strong government, and sought one in the House of York; but the deep reasons, which in the economy of the world justify results, do not justify the sins of the actors or prove the guilt of the sufferers.—STUBBS.

#### CHARACTER OF HENRY VI.

In this manner ended the reign of Henry VI., a monarch who, while in his cradle, had been proclaimed king both of France and England, and who began his life with the most splendid prospects that any prince in Europe had ever enjoyed. The revolution was unhappy for his people, as it was the source of civil wars; but was almost entirely indifferent to Henry himself, who was utterly incapable of exercising his authority, and who, provided he personally met with good usage, was equally enslaved, in the hands of his enemies and of his friends. His weakness and his disputed title were the chief causes of the public calamities; but whether his queen and his ministers were not also guilty of some great abuses of power, it is not easy for us, at this distance of time, to determine. There remain no proofs on record of any considerable violation of the laws, except in the assassination of the Duke of Gloucester, which was a private crime, formed no precedent, and was but too much of a piece with the usual ferocity and cruelty of the times.—HUME.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## EDWARD IV.

## OPENING OF THE REIGN.

Young Edward, now in his twentieth year, was of a temper well fitted to make his way through such a scene of war, havoc, and devastation, as must conduct him to the full possession of that crown which he claimed from hereditary right, but which he had assumed from the tumultuary election of his own party. He was bold, active, enterprising; and his hardness of heart and severity of character rendered him impregnable to all those movements of compassion which might relax his vigor in the prosecution of the most bloody revenges upon his enemies. The very commencement of his reign gave symptoms of his sanguinary disposition. A tradesman of London, who kept a shop at the sign of the crown, having said that he would make his son heir to "the crown," this harmless pleasantry was interpreted to be spoken in derision of Edward's assumed title, and he was condemned and executed for the offense. Such an act of tyranny was a proper prelude to the events which ensued. The scaffold, as well as the field, incessantly streamed with the noblest blood of England, spilt in the quarrel between the two contending families, whose animosity was now become implacable. The people, divided in their affections, took different symbols of party. The partisans of the House of Lancaster chose the red rose as their mark of distinction; those of York were denominated from the white; and these civil wars were thus known, over Europe, by the name of the quarrel between the two roses.—HUME.

## BATTLE OF TOWTON.

Edward was king; but Henry and Margaret had withdrawn into the north; and an army of 60,000 men under Somerset lay near York. Both Edward and his supporters prepared for a decisive struggle. The united forces of Warwick and of Edward pushed on in the direction of York, and between the villages of Towton

and Saxton, about eight miles from the city, found the whole army of the enemy drawn up to give them battle. The conflict began about four o'clock in the afternoon, the day after the battle of Ferrybridge.\* The fighting was continued through the night, and renewed with vigor next morning about nine o'clock, notwithstanding a heavy snow shower, which blew in the face of the Lancastrians. That day was Palm Sunday. The forces engaged on either side were enormous, and never was battle fought so obstinately. About mid-day the Duke of Norfolk came up to the assistance of the Yorkists, with fresh forces that he had levied in Norfolk. Still the Lancastrians kept the field, fighting most obstinately till about three in the afternoon. But their ranks being broken they were at last compelled to give way, and were pursued in various directions, no quarter being granted by the conquerors. Some were drowned in attempting to cross rivers; numbers were cut down in the pursuit, and the way was strewn with corpses for ten miles, up to the very gates of York. On the field itself, after the battle, the spectacle was most ghastly. The snow was crimsoned with the blood of the slain, and as it melted a crimson stream poured down every furrow. The dead were heaped up in trenches, and their numbers, counted by the heralds, were declared to amount to no less than eight-and-twenty thousand.

King Henry and Margaret fled toward Scotland, while Edward entered York in triumph. The power of Henry was completely crushed, and the first step he took to recover it was not much calculated to advance his object. Driven to seek refuge in Scotland he delivered up Berwick to the Scots and encouraged them to undertake the siege of Carlisle. But the latter place was relieved by Lord Montague, and Edward having returned to London was crowned on Sunday, June 28. His two brothers, George and Richard, who had been sent abroad for security, returned and were created dukes, with the titles of Clarence and Gloucester. Parliament was then summoned to meet at Westminster in November, and an act was passed confirming Edward's claim to the crown by hereditary right, and declaring the three preceding kings to have been usurpers. All who had been active in the cause of the House of Lancaster were attainted and their possessions forfeited. Henry himself and Queen Margaret were declared traitors. Still, the whole kingdom was not for some time absolutely in Edward's

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\* See "King Henry VI.," Part III, Act II, Scene 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.



power. There were castles in Wales which held out for Henry, and Margaret hoped, with the aid of the French and Scots, to make a successful invasion.—GAIRDNER.

#### MARRIAGE OF EDWARD IV.

On the 29th of September Edward proclaimed that he had been for some time married to Elizabeth, the Lady Grey, or Ferrers, of Groby, a widow, and daughter of a Lancastrian lord, Richard Woodville, Lord Rivers, who had been steward to the great Duke of Bedford and had married Jacquetta, of Luxemburg, his widow.\*

Edward's marriage was signally distasteful to the Nevilles. Warwick had planned a great scheme, according to which the king should by a fitting matrimonial alliance, connecting him with both France and Burgundy, secure the peace of Western Europe, at all events for some years. Even if that scheme failed he might fairly have looked for a politic marriage, perhaps with a daughter of his own, by which the newly founded dynasty might be strengthened against the risks of a counter-restoration. All such hopes were rendered futile by the art of a woman or the infatuation of a boy. But the earl knew that he must endure his disappointment, and continued to support Edward with his counsels until his own position became intolerable.†—STUBBS.

#### WARWICK'S ENMITY AROUSED.

The Earl of Warwick could not suffer with patience the least diminution of that credit which he had long enjoyed, and which he thought he had merited by important services. Though he had received so many grants from the crown that the revenue arising from them amounted, besides his patrimonial estate, to eighty thousand crowns a year, according to the computation of Philip de Comines, his ambitious spirit was still dissatisfied, as long as he saw others surpass him in authority and influence with the king. Edward, also, jealous of that power which had supported him, and which he himself had contributed still higher to exalt, was well pleased to raise up rivals in credit to the Earl of Warwick; and he justified, by this political view, his extreme partiality to the queen's kindred. But the nobility of England, envying the sudden growth

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\* See "King Henry VI.," Part III, Act III, Scene 2.

† See "King Henry VI.," Part III, Act III, Scene 3.

of the Woodvilles, were more inclined to take part with Warwick's discontent, to whose grandeur they were already accustomed, and who had reconciled them to his superiority by his gracious and popular manners. And as Edward obtained from Parliament a general resumption of all grants, which he had made since his accession, and which had extremely impoverished the crown, this act, though it passed with some exceptions, particularly one in favor of the Earl of Warwick, gave a general alarm to the nobility, and disgusted many, even zealous partisans of the family of York.

But the most considerable associate that Warwick acquired to his party was George, Duke of Clarence, the king's second brother. This prince deemed himself no less injured than the other grandees, by the uncontrolled influence of the queen and her relations; and as his fortunes were still left on a precarious footing, while theirs were fully established, this neglect, joined to his unquiet and restless spirit, inclined him to give countenance to all the malcontents. The favorable opportunity of gaining him was espied by the Earl of Warwick, who offered him in marriage his eldest daughter, and coheir of his immense fortunes; a settlement which, as it was superior to any that the king himself could confer upon him, immediately attached him to the party of the earl. Thus an extensive and dangerous combination was insensibly formed against Edward and his ministry.—HUME.

#### WARWICK'S INTRIGUES.

The wedding took place at Calais, where Warwick was governor, without the king's knowledge and against his will. But the king's attention was at that very time engaged by an insurrection in Yorkshire which had been carefully arranged by Warwick beforehand. It was led by one who called himself Robin of Redesdale, whose real name was Sir William Conyers. Manifestoes were published by the insurgents showing why they had taken up arms, and complaining of the influence of Lord Rivers and the queen's friends. The king proceeded northward to meet them, but ordered also Lord Herbert, whom he had created Earl of Pembroke, to bring up forces from Wales, and sent a message to his brother and the Earl of Warwick to induce them to come to him peaceably. But the insurgents came upon the Earl of Pembroke and his Welsh levies near Banbury, at a place called Edgecote, and gained a complete victory, taking prisoners the earl and his brother, Sir Richard

Herbert, whom they afterward beheaded. Clarence and the Earl of Warwick came over from Calais, along with the Archbishop of York, who was Warwick's brother and had once been Edward's chancellor. But their coming was not to assist the king. On the contrary, they took him prisoner near Coventry, and led him first to Warwick Castle and afterward into Yorkshire. The insurgents at the same time took the Earl Rivers and his son Sir John Woodville prisoners, and put them to death at Coventry.

Thus the government was for a time completely in Warwick's hands, the king being his prisoner,\* and the power of the Woodvilles altogether broken. But presently Edward made his escape, or perhaps was suffered to regain his freedom, and a general pardon was afterward proclaimed to all who had taken part in these commotions. This, however, did not prevent a renewal of disturbances early in the following year.—GAIRDNER.

#### WARWICK'S FLIGHT.

The rebellion was now paralyzed. The Duke of Clarence and the Earl of Warwick fled into Lancashire, from whence they passed by sea to Southampton, hoping there to have secured a large ship called the "Trinity," belonging to the Earl of Warwick. In this attempt, however, they were defeated by the queen's brother, Lord Scales, who by the death of his father had now become Earl Rivers; for Edward had given him the command of some ships at Southampton and he captured several vessels of Warwick's little fleet. Warwick and the Duke of Clarence escaped across the sea, while John Tiptoft, Earl of Worcester, was commissioned to try the prisoners taken in their ships. The result was that twenty persons were hanged, drawn, and quartered, and their heads cut off. To exhibit their quarters to public view in some conspicuous position was only one of the commonplace barbarities of the age in the punishment of treason. But by Worcester's orders a new horror was given to this practice. The head and members of each of the unfortunate men were impaled on a stake in a manner peculiarly hideous and unaccustomed. Civil war, conspiracy, and rebellion had not only hardened the hearts of men on both sides, but had brutalized the most refined. The Earl of Worcester was one of the most accomplished scholars of the time; but he was remembered after this as "the butcher of England."—GAIRDNER.

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\* See "King Henry VI.," Part III, Act iv, Scene 3.

## WARWICK AND THE DUKE OF CLARENCE INVADE ENGLAND.

As for the Earl of Warwick and the Duke of Clarence, they naturally sought to take refuge in Calais, where the earl was governor. Louis XI., as may be seen, was not sorry to have an opportunity of giving protection and comfort to Edward's enemies. [He] offered himself a willing mediator, and through his intercession a reconciliation was at last accomplished. It was agreed that the Earl of Warwick should lead an expedition into England to recover the throne for King Henry, and that if it proved successful, Warwick's second daughter Anne was to be married to Henry's son, the Prince of Wales. The king of France, for his part, engaged to lend every assistance to the attempt, and he accordingly furnished a fleet to protect the earl in crossing against the Duke of Burgundy.

The earl and his company accordingly sailed from Harfleur and landed safely in the west of England. The Duke of Clarence came along with him; and the whole expedition disembarked in the ports of Plymouth and Dartmouth, [Sept. 18.] King Edward seems to have been lulled into a sense of false security which is altogether inexplicable. He had already had sufficient experience of the turbulent character of Warwick and the inconsistency of his brother Clarence. Yet he actually allowed himself to be taken by surprise, believing himself secure in the affections of his people generally, and paid no attention to the warnings of his brother-in-law the Duke of Burgundy, who, from dread and dislike of Warwick even more than from love of Edward, endeavored by repeated messages to put him on his guard. He was even indiscreet enough, at a time when the landing of Clarence and Warwick was very generally expected, to intrust the command of forces for the protection of the kingdom to the Marquis of Montague, Warwick's brother, who, besides his relationship to the principal leader of the invasion, had a secret grudge of his own against Edward, to induce him to turn traitor.—GAIRDNER.

## FLIGHT OF KING EDWARD.

In spite of all the warnings which he received from Burgundy, Edward remained in a condition of false security, even allowing Montague to retain his offices in England. He was absent from London in the north, when the queen, Warwick and Clarence landed in Devonshire, issued a proclamation calling on the nation to arm,

and soon found themselves surrounded by a sufficient army. So far did Edward carry his want of suspicion that Montague, who at once declared for the red rose, as nearly as possible captured him at dinner in the neighborhood of Doncaster. He had just time to escape, and fled (not without danger from a Hanseatic fleet) to Flanders. Warwick and his friends proceeded to London, drew the old king from the Tower, and recrowned him with all ceremony. A Parliament assembled on the 26th of November. All the acts of Edward's reign were annulled, and a general change took place in property and offices. It marks the effect of the fusion of parties, that this revolution, unlike most of the events of this war, was almost bloodless.—BRIGHT.

#### EDWARD'S RETURN.

Though on many grounds (personal hatred to Warwick, sympathy with Edward's enmity to France, and mercantile and family reasons,) the Duke of Burgundy would have been naturally attached to the House of York, this friendship was of new growth, and could not make him forget his long connection with the House of Lancaster. It was, therefore, with much difficulty that Edward got from him a small pecuniary assistance. With such as it was, however, he collected about 2,000 men, and took, what at first sight appears, the foolhardy step of landing at Ravenspur in Yorkshire. But he knew that he had friends in his enemy's camp. At first declaring, in imitation of Henry IV., that he only came to claim his rights as Duke of York, he passed unmolested through Yorkshire, where Montague was. Even Warwick, who lay in the midland counties, watched his progress unmoved. He had received letters from Clarence, begging him not to stir till he joined him with reinforcements. But when Clarence took the field, it was not Warwick, but Edward to whom he went. Strong enough now again to assume the name of King of England, Edward marched to London, where the Archbishop of York had tried in vain to raise enthusiasm for the Lancastrian king. Too late Warwick found that he had been deceived, and he also marched toward London. Edward met him with inferior forces in the neighborhood of Barnet, and there a battle was fought, in which Warwick was entirely defeated, and himself and his brother Montague killed.\* Probably

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\* See "King Henry VI.," Part III, Act 5, Scene 2.

the great bulk of the people cared but little who was their ruler. York's army was very small—less than 10,000 men. A series of accidents gave him the victory. The indifference of the nation, weary of the squabble, explains the rapid success of these revolutions.—BRIGHT.

#### MURDER OF HENRY VI.

There was one other danger, and then the Lancastrian party seemed destroyed forever. The bastard of Falconbridge suddenly appeared with a considerable fleet before London. The gallant defense of the citizens, and the arrival of assistance from the king, thwarted this last effort, and Edward returned in triumph, having proved the stability of the House of York. His arrival was immediately followed by the secret murder of King Henry, one of those dark deeds which has been attributed without much ground to Edward's brother, Richard of Gloucester.\*—BRIGHT.

#### QUARREL BETWEEN CLARENCE AND GLOUCESTER.

It might have been supposed that the House of York was now securely seated upon the throne; and, so far as regarded Edward himself, nothing more occurred to disturb his possession. But the family divisions which had already sprung up pursued that house ultimately to its ruin. The breach between the king and his brother Clarence, it soon appeared, was only superficially healed over. A quarrel also took place between Clarence and his other brother, Richard Duke of Gloucester. After the death of Edward Prince of Wales, the son of King Henry, at Tewkesbury,† his widow Anne, who, it will be remembered, was a daughter of Warwick the king-maker, was sought by Gloucester in marriage;‡ but Clarence, who had married her elder sister, opposed his suit and attempted to conceal her. Richard, however, discovered her in London in the disguise of a cook-maid, and had her removed to the Sanctuary of St. Martin's. When Clarence was no longer able to prevent the match, he still refused to divide with his brother the inheritance of their father-in-law, the Earl of Warwick. By the mediation of Edward the matter was at length settled, and an act was passed in

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\* See "King Henry VI.," Part III, Act v, Scene 6.

† The battle of Tewkesbury was fought Saturday, May 4, 1471. See "King Henry VI.," Part III, Act v, Scene 4.

‡ See "King Richard III.," Act 1, Scene 2.

Parliament making a division of Warwick's lands between the royal brothers, with very little consideration for the rights of his surviving countess.

#### CLARENCE OUT OF FAVOR.

But in the course of a few years symptoms of the old ill-will broke out between the Duke of Clarence and Edward himself. On the death of Charles Duke of Burgundy, Clarence, who was then a widower, was desirous to marry his daughter and heiress Mary. Such a match would have made him a powerful continental prince, and his suit was favored by his sister Margaret, the widow of the duke; but Edward threw every obstacle in the way. This, in addition to some former injuries, real or supposed, embittered Clarence against his brother in a way he did not care to conceal. At last, some gentlemen of his household having been accused of sorcery, condemned, and executed, Clarence, before the king's council, protested his belief in their innocence. This step was treated by the king as dangerous to the administration of justice, and he caused his brother to be arrested and committed to the Tower.

#### CLARENCE IMPEACHED.

When Parliament met in the beginning of the year 1478 Clarence was impeached of treason by his own brother before the House of Peers. No other accuser stepped forward but the king himself; but the whole of his past intrigues and rebellions were now brought up against him. It was related in the indictment how he had been already pardoned the most serious offenses, and yet had conspired again against his brother. It was set forth also how at one time, for the gratification of his ambition, he had not hesitated to cast a stigma upon his own mother, declaring his brother Edward illegitimate and himself the true heir of his father. With these a number of other circumstances were related, all tending to show that he made it still his aim to supplant King Edward. The lords found Clarence guilty and he was condemned to death. Execution of the sentence was, however, delayed for several days, until the Speaker of the House of Commons, coming to the bar of the lords, desired that the matter might be brought to a conclusion. Shortly afterward, Feb. 18, the duke was put to death within the Tower in a manner so very secret that, although the day was known, the kind

of death he suffered was a matter of uncertainty. A singular report, however, got abroad that he had been drowned in a butt of Malmsey wine.\*—GAIRDNER.

## RELATIONS WITH LOUIS XI.

With France the king's relations continued to be friendly, but the cordiality of the newly formed alliance quickly cooled; Lewis found that he did not need Edward; Edward tried hard to think that he was not duped. Toward the close of 1482 the marriage between the king's daughter Elizabeth and the dauphin, which had been one of the articles of the peace of Pecquigny, was broken off by Lewis himself; who, on the 22d of January, 1483, ratified the contract for the betrothal of his son to Margaret of Austria. Edward felt this as a personal insult, and the failure of all his negotiations for the marriage of his children with foreign princes contributed, no doubt, to his mortification, if they did not suggest that, great as his power and prosperity were, he was regarded by the kings of Europe as somewhat of an outlaw.—STUBBS.

## DEATH OF EDWARD.

In the end he was driven to conclude with the French king a treaty at Arras by which Margaret was to be married to the dauphin and to have as her dower some of the most valuable lands in Burgundy, taken from the inheritance of her brother Philip. This treaty was concluded on December 23, 1482. The mortification it gave to Edward was extreme, and French writers say that he died of the disappointment. Whether that be the case or not, he did not survive it four months; for he died on April 9, 1483. With many great defects in his character, he was a king more in sympathy with his people than any sovereign that had been seen in England since the days of Edward III.†—GAIRDNER.

## CHARACTER OF EDWARD IV.

Edward IV. was not, perhaps, quite so bad a man or so bad a king as his enemies have represented. But even those writers who have labored hardest to rehabilitate him, have failed to discover any conspicuous merits. With great personal courage he may be

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\* See "King Richard III.," Act I, Scene 4.

† See "King Richard III.," Act II, Scene 2.



freely credited; he was moreover eloquent, affable, and fairly well educated. He had a definite plan of foreign policy, and although he was both lavish in expenditure and extortionate in procuring money, he was a skillful merchant. He had, or professed to have, some love of justice in the abstract, which led him to enforce the due execution of law where it did not interfere with the fortunes of his favorites or his own likes and dislikes. He was to some extent a favorer of learned men. He made some small benefactions to houses of religion and devotion, and he did not entirely root up the collegiate foundations of his predecessors of the House of Lancaster. But that is all. He was as a man vicious far beyond anything that England had seen since the days of John; and more cruel and bloodthirsty than any king she had ever known. He had, too, a conspicuous talent for extortion. There had been fierce deeds of bloodshed under Edward II. and Edward III.; cruel and secret murder under Richard II. and Henry IV.; the hand of Henry V. had been heavy and unrelenting against the conspirators of Southampton; and at St. Albans the House of York, and at Wakefield the House of Lancaster, had sown fresh seeds for a fatal harvest. But Edward IV. far outdid all that his forefathers and his enemies together had done. The death of Clarence was but the summing up and crowning act of an unparalleled list of judicial and extra-judicial cruelties which those of the next reign supplement but do not surpass.—STUBBS.

#### LITERARY CHARACTER OF THE PERIOD.

The founder of a new despotism presents a claim to our regard as the patron of Caxton. It is in the life of the first English printer that we see the new upgrowth of larger and more national energies, which were to compensate for the decay of the narrower energies of the Middle Ages. . . . While the older literary class was dying out, a glance beneath the surface shows us the stir of a new interest in knowledge among the masses of the people itself. The very character of the authorship of the time, its love of compendiums and abridgments of such scientific and historical knowledge as the world believed it possessed, its dramatic performances of mysteries, the common-place morality of the poets, the popularity of its rhymed chronicles, are proof that literature was ceasing to be the possession of a purely intellectual class, and was beginning to appeal to the nation at large. The correspondence of the Paston

family not only displays a fluency and grammatical correctness which would have been impossible a few years before, but shows country squires discussing about books and gathering libraries. The increased use of linen paper in the place of the costlier parchment helped in the popularization of letters. In no former age had finer copies of books been produced; in none had so many been transcribed. This increased demand for their production caused the processes of copying and illuminating manuscripts to be transferred from the scriptoria of the religious houses into the hands of trade guilds, like the guild of St. John at Bruges, or the Brothers of the Pen at Brussels. It was, in fact, this increase of demand for books, pamphlets or fly-sheets, especially of a grammatical or religious character, in the middle of the fifteenth century, that brought about the introduction of printing. We meet with the first records of the printer's art in rude sheets struck off from wooden blocks, "block-books," as they are now called. Later on came the vast advance of printing from separate and movable types.

It was probably at the press of Colard Mansion, in a little room over the porch of St. Donat's at Bruges, that William Caxton learned the art which he was first to introduce into England. . . . The tedious process of copying was soon thrown aside [by Caxton] for the new art which Colard Mansion had introduced into Bruges. "For as much as in the writing of the same," Caxton tells in the preface to his first printed work, the *Tales of Troy*, "my pen is worn, my hand weary and not steadfast, mine eyes dimmed with over-much looking on the white paper, and my courage not so prone and ready to labor as it hath been, and that age creepeth on me daily and enfeebleth all the body, and also because I have promised to divers gentlemen and to my friends to address them as hastily as I might the said book, therefore I have practiced and learned, at my great charge and dispense, to ordain this said book in print after the manner and form as ye may see, and is not written with pen and ink as other books be, to the end that every man may have them at once, for all the books of this story here imprinted were begun in one day, and also finished in one day." The printing-press was the precious freight he brought back to England in 1476, after an absence of five and thirty years. . . .

While careful to win his daily bread, he found time to do much for what of higher literature lay fairly to hand. He printed all the

English poetry of any moment that was then in existence. His reverence for "that worshipful man, Geoffrey Chaucer," who "ought to be eternally remembered," is shown not merely by his edition of the "Canterbury Tales," but by his reprint of them when a purer text of the poem offered itself. The poems of Lydgate and Gower were added to those of Chaucer. The chronicle of Brut and Higden's "Polychronicon" were the only available works of a historical character then existing in the English tongue, and Caxton not only printed them, but himself continued the latter up to his own time. A translation of "Boethius," a version of the "Æneid" from the French, and a tract or two from Cicero, were the stray first-fruits of the classical press of England.—GREEN.

It will be seen that the age was not a productive one in works of enduring literary character. The thoughts of the people were turned to war, and original literature did not flourish.

## CHAPTER IX.

## EDWARD V.

## ACCESSION.

EDWARD, the son and heir of the deceased king, was at Ludlow, on the borders of Wales, when his father died. He had been sent thither as Prince of Wales to hold a court and keep the country in good order; for which purpose a council had been assigned to him, consisting originally of his uncles, the Dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, his maternal uncle, Anthony Earl Rivers, Lord Hastings, and several others. But the Duke of Clarence was dead, the Duke of Gloucester in the North, and Lord Hastings in London; so that when young Edward, who was only in his thirteenth year, received the news of his own accession to the throne he was surrounded principally by his mother's relations.

## THE OLD NOBILITY JEALOUS OF THE WOODVILLES.

Now it was most unfortunate for the young king himself that both his mother and her kinsfolk were looked upon with dislike and jealousy by the old nobility. The Woodvilles had always been regarded as upstarts, but under the reign of the late king no loyal subject could say any thing against them. The Council in London, however, were of opinion that it would be advisable to remove the new king entirely from the influence of his maternal relatives; and though the Queen Dowager desired that he should be brought up to London with as large an escort as possible, the lords could not be persuaded to sanction a stronger retinue than was needed for his personal safety. Lord Hastings, who was governor of Calais, took alarm, and talked of departing immediately across the sea. The queen's friends were obliged to give assurances that no large force should come up; and orders were sent down to Ludlow that the company should on no account exceed two thousand horse.

## RIVERS AND GREY.

On his death-bed the late king had bequeathed the care of the young prince, and his kingdom more especially, to his brother



Richard, Duke of Gloucester. When, therefore, tidings of Edward's death were sent into the North, Richard at once set out for London. He reached Northampton on April 29, and found that the young king had been there that day before him, and had passed on to Stony Stratford, ten miles further on. He was met, however, by the young king's uncle and half-brother, the Earl Rivers and Lord Richard Grey, who had ridden back to pay their respects to him in Edward's name. Henry, Duke of Buckingham, also joined the party. He, it is said, had been already in communication with Gloucester. With apparent cordiality all sat down together to supper; but after the retirement of Rivers and Grey the two dukes held a consultation, the result of which was that early next morning they caused their guests to be arrested, and pushed on to Stony Stratford before the royal party had time to get away. They obtained an audience of the young king, and in his presence accused his uncle, Rivers, and his two half-brothers, the Marquis of Dorset and Lord Richard Grey, of a design to usurp the government and oppress the old nobility. Dorset, it seems, was constable of the Tower, had taken supplies of arms and money out of that fortress, and fitted out a small fleet: while Rivers and Lord Richard Grey had shown a most suspicious haste in bringing young Edward up to London.

#### EDWARD'S CORONATION.

The poor lad could not believe these accusations, and burst into tears on hearing them. The two dukes, however, caused Rivers and Grey, with two other gentlemen of his household, to be sent in custody into Yorkshire, where, after being confined for nearly two months in different places, they were ultimately beheaded at Pomfret.\* Meanwhile, the young king continued his journey to London in the company of his uncle, Gloucester, and the Duke of Buckingham. Alarm had been at first created in the city by the news of the arrests made at Northampton, but the fact became known that large quantities of armor and weapons were found among the baggage of Rivers and the king's attendants; and this discovery produced an impression that their imprisonment was perfectly justified. The mayor and citizens accordingly met the young king and his uncle at Hornsea Park, and conducted him into the city. They entered it on May 4, a day that had been originally set apart for

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\*See "King Richard III.," Act II, Scene 4.

Edward's coronation. That ceremony was now deferred till June 22. Meanwhile, the Duke of Gloucester was declared protector of the young king and his kingdom, and a Parliament was summoned to assemble three days after the coronation.—GAIRDNER.

#### STATE OF PARTIES IN ENGLAND AT HIS ACCESSION.

On the death of Edward IV. the state of parties was rather complicated. In the period of success which followed his restoration in 1471, he had collected around him counselors from all parties, although chiefly inclined to the new nobility. His friends were thus divided into three sections: the queen and her family, the most prominent members of which were Anthony Lord Rivers; Grey, Earl of Dorset; his brother, Sir Richard Grey, and Lord Lisle, who seem to have worked in unison with Chancellor, Cardinal Rotherham, Archbishop of York, and Morton, Bishop of Ely; there were, secondly, the new nobility, of whom Hastings and Stanley were the representatives; and, thirdly, a certain number of the older nobles, led by Stafford, Duke of Buckingham, and Sir John Howard. The two latter sections were full of jealousy of the queen's party, in which feeling Richard joined. But his real connection was with Buckingham and the old nobles. His first step was, by a union of the other two parties, to overthrow the influence of the queen.—BRIGHT.

The people were summoned to the tower, where Buckingham and Richard appeared in rusty armor, as though in their extreme necessity they had taken it from the armory. Jane Shore was compelled to do penance through the streets of London. The queen was persuaded by the Archbishop of Canterbury to surrender the young Prince Richard. And news arrived that, both in the north and in Wales, the people had risen for Richard. At the same time Grey and Rivers, hitherto kept prisoners in Northampton, were beheaded. It only remained for Richard to find some pretext for assuming the crown. He felt the necessity of forestalling the coronation, which would probably have withdrawn from him the protectorate, and have brought a commission of regency into power.—BRIGHT.

#### SERMON OF DR. SHAW.

Dr. Shaw was appointed to preach in St. Paul's; and having chosen this passage for his text, "Bastard slips shall not thrive," he

enlarged on all the topics which could discredit the birth of Edward IV., the Duke of Clarence, and of all their children. He then broke out in a panegyric on the Duke of Gloucester; and exclaimed, "Behold this excellent prince, the express image of his noble father, the genuine descendant of the House of York; bearing, no less in the virtues of his mind, than in the features of his countenance, the character of the gallant Richard, once your hero and favorite. He alone is entitled to your allegiance; he must deliver you from the dominion of all intruders; he alone can restore the lost glory and honor of the nation." It was previously concerted, that as the doctor should pronounce these words, the Duke of Gloucester should enter the church; and it was expected that the audience would cry out, "God save King Richard!" which would immediately have been laid hold of as a popular consent, and interpreted to be the voice of the nation; but by a ridiculous mistake, worthy of the whole scene, the duke did not appear till after this exclamation was already recited by the preacher. The doctor was, therefore, obliged to repeat his rhetorical figure out of its proper place. The audience, less from the absurd conduct of the discourse than from their detestation of these proceedings, kept a profound silence; and the protector and his preacher were equally abashed at the ill success of their stratagem.—HUME.

## CHAPTER X.

## RICHARD III.

## USURPATION OF RICHARD III.

BUT The duke was too far advanced to recede from his criminal and ambitious purpose. A new expedient was tried to work on the people. The mayor, who was brother to Dr. Shaw, and entirely in the protector's interest, called an assembly of the citizens; where the Duke of Buckingham, who possessed some talents for eloquence, harangued them on the protector's title to the crown, and displayed those numerous virtues of which, he pretended, that prince was possessed. He next asked them whether they would have the duke for king, and then stopped, in expectation of hearing the cry, "God save King Richard I.!" He was surprised to observe them silent, and turning about to the mayor, asked him the reason. The mayor replied that perhaps they did not understand him. Buckingham then repeated his discourse with some variation, enforced the same topics, asked the same question, and was received with the same silence. "I now see the cause," said the mayor, "the citizens are not accustomed to be harangued by any but their recorder, and know not how to answer a person of your grace's quality." The recorder, Fitzwilliams, was then commanded to repeat the substance of the duke's speech; but the man, who was averse to the office, took care, throughout his whole discourse, to have it understood that he spoke nothing of himself, and that he only conveyed to them the sense of the Duke of Buckingham. Still the audience kept a profound silence. "This is wonderful obstinacy," cried the duke. "Express your meaning, my friends, one way or other. When we apply to you on this occasion, it is merely from the regard which we bear to you. The lords and commons have sufficient authority, without your consent, to appoint a king; but I require you here to declare, in plain terms, whether or not you will have the Duke of Gloucester for your sovereign." After all these efforts, some of the meanest apprentices, incited by the protector's and Buck-



ingham's servants, raised a feeble cry, "God save King Richard!" The sentiments of the nation were now sufficiently declared. The voice of the people was the voice of God; and Buckingham, with the mayor, hastened to Baynard's Castle, where the protector then resided, that they might make him a tender of the crown.

When Richard was told that a great multitude was in the court, he refused to appear to them, and pretended to be apprehensive for his personal safety; a circumstance taken notice of by Buckingham, who observed to the citizens that the prince was ignorant of the whole design. At last he was persuaded to step forth, but he still kept at some distance; and he asked the meaning of their intrusion and importunity. Buckingham told him that the nation was resolved to have him for king. The protector declared his purpose of maintaining his loyalty to the present sovereign, and exhorted them to adhere to the same resolution. He was told that the people had determined to have another prince; and if he rejected their unanimous voice, they must look out for one who would be more compliant. This argument was too powerful to be resisted. He was prevailed on to accept of the crown; and he thenceforth acted as legitimate and rightful sovereign.\*—HUME.

#### PERSONAL APPEARANCE OF RICHARD III.

Sir Thomas More, in his "Life of Richard III.," thus characterizes that much-abused sovereign:

"Richarde the thirde, sonne [of Richard Plantagenet, Duke of York] of whom we now entreate, was in witte and courage egall with either of them, in bodye and prowesse farre under them both, [his brothers, Edward and Clarence,] litle of stature, ill fetured of limmes, croke backed, his left shoulder much higher than his right, hard fovoured of visage, and such as in states called warlye, in other menne otherwise; he was malicious, wrathful, envious, and from afore his birth ever frowarde. . . . None eville captaine was hee in the warre, as to which his disposicion was more metely than for peace. Sundrye victories hadde he, and sometime overthrowes, but never in defaulte as for his owne persone, either of hardinesse or polytike order. Free was he called of dispence, and somewhat above his power liberall, with large giftes he get hym unstedfaste frendshippe, for whiche he was faine to pil and spoyle in other

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\* See "King Richard III.," Act III, Scene 7.

places, and get hym stedfaste hatred. He was close and secrete, a deep dissimuler, lowlye of counteynaunce, arrogant of heart, outwardely coumpinable where he inwardely hated, not letting to kiss whom he thoughte to kyll, dispitious and cruell, not for evill will alway, but offer for ambicion and either for the suretie or encrease of his estate. Frend and foe was much what indifferent, where his advantage grewe; he spared no mannes deathe whose life withstode his purpose."

#### MURDER OF THE PRINCES.

This ridiculous farce was soon after followed by a scene truly tragical, the murder of the two young princes. Richard gave orders to Sir Robert Brakenbury, constable of the tower, to put his nephews to death; but this gentleman, who had sentiments of honor, refused to have any hand in the infamous office. The tyrant then sent for Sir James Tyrrel, who promised obedience; and he ordered Brakenbury to resign to this gentleman the keys and government of the tower for one night. Tyrrel, choosing three associates, Slater, Dighton, and Forest, came in the night-time to the door of the chamber where the princes were lodged; and sending in the assassins, he bade them execute their commission, while he himself stayed without. They found the young princes in bed and fallen into a profound sleep. After suffocating them with the bolster and pillows, they showed their naked bodies to Tyrrel, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the stairs, deep in the ground under a heap of stones. These circumstances were all confessed by the actors in the following reign; and they were never punished for the crime. Probably because Henry, whose maxims of government were extremely arbitrary, desired to establish it as a principle that the commands of the reigning sovereign ought to justify every enormity in those who paid obedience to them. But there is one circumstance not so easy to be accounted for. It is pretended that Richard, displeased with the indecent manner of burying his nephews, whom he had murdered, gave his chaplain orders to dig up the bodies, and to inter them in consecrated ground; and as the man died soon after, the place of their burial remained unknown, and the bodies could never be found by any search which Henry could make for them. Yet in the reign of Charles II. when there was occasion to remove some stones, and to dig in the very spot which was mentioned as the place of their first interment, the

bones of two persons were there found, which, by their size, exactly corresponded to the age of Edward and his brother. They were concluded with certainty to be the remains of those princes, and were interred under a marble monument by orders of King Charles. Perhaps Richard's chaplain had died before he found an opportunity of executing his master's commands; and the bodies being supposed to be already removed, a diligent search was not made for them by Henry in the place where they had been buried.\*—HUME.

#### RICHARD'S REMORSE.

Unscrupulous as Richard was, the remorse that overtook him after this dreadful crime appears to have been very terrible indeed. "I have heard," wrote Sir Thomas More, "by credible report of such as were secret with his chamberers, that after this abominable deed done he never had quiet in his mind; he never thought himself sure. When he went abroad his eyes whirled about, his body privily fenced, his hand ever on his dagger, his countenance and manner like one always ready to strike again. He took ill rest at night, lay long waking and musing; sore wearied with care and watch, he rather slumbered than slept. Troubled with fearful dreams, suddenly sometimes started he up, leaped out of his bed and ran about the chamber. So was his restless heart continually tossed and tumbled with the tedious impression and stormy remembrance of his most abominable deed."—GAIRDNER.

#### RICHARD'S PROGRESS THROUGH THE KINGDOM.

To confirm the good impression which [some of his] other acts were calculated to make upon his subjects, Richard then set out upon a progress through the midland and northern counties. His course lay in the first place through Windsor, Reading, and Oxford, to Woodstock and Gloucester. At Oxford he met with a magnificent reception, in which Bishop Waynflete, the founder of Magdalen College, took a leading part. At Gloucester the city offered him a handsome present or "benevolence," unsolicited; and the same was done at Worcester, which was the next place he visited. Both these gifts he declined, as he had already done a similar offer from the metropolis, declaring he would rather have the hearts of his subjects than their money. He went on to Warwick, where he

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\* See "King Richard III," Act iv, Scene 3.

received ambassadors from Ferdinand and Isabella, of Spain; and from thence by Coventry, Leicester, and Nottingham, he went on to York, where the citizens had prepared for him a reception of more than ordinary splendor. It has been said that he was crowned a second time in this city; but the truth seems to be merely that he and his queen, who had joined him at Warwick, with the Prince Edward their son, whom he that day created Prince of Wales, walked in a grand procession through the streets, with crowns upon their heads. All this display tended to increase his popularity, especially in the North, where he had been a long time resident before he became king. But in London and the southern counties people began to be uneasy.—GAIIRDNER.

#### THE REBELLION OF BUCKINGHAM.

The news of the murder [of the princes] excited throughout the country strong feelings of grief and indignation. But to those implicated in the conspiracy for the liberation of the princes it was more especially alarming. A new object, however, was presently supplied to them. The male issue of Edward IV. being now extinct, a project was formed for marrying his eldest daughter, Elizabeth, to Henry, Earl of Richmond, a refugee in Brittany, who was regarded as the head of the deposed House of Lancaster; and Buckingham wrote the earl to cross the seas, while he and others in England should make an insurrection in his favor. The Marquis of Dorset and others of the Woodville party arranged [also] with Buckingham a number of simultaneous risings to take place on October 18 in the south and west of England; and the Earl of Richmond was expected at the same time to land on the southern coast, and lead the movement in person.

On the day appointed, [October 18,] accordingly, the partisans of Henry Tudor, Earl of Richmond, took up arms under different leaders in Kent, in Berkshire, at Salisbury, and at Exeter. The Duke of Buckingham also took the field that day at Brecknock. The king seems to have been nearly taken by surprise; but the news of the intended outbreak had reached him, a week before it took place, at Lincoln. He wrote in great haste to his chancellor to bring or send immediately the Great Seal, in order that he might make out commissions of array. Hastening southward, he received it at Grantham on the 19th. Commissions were immediately sent out to levy troops in the king's name, and a singular proclamation

was issued on the 23d, endeavoring to excite public indignation against his opponents as men of immoral lives who, despising the general pardon issued by the king for political offenses, were leagued together for the maintenance of vice and the indulgence of unlawful pleasures. The Marquis of Dorset it seems had, since the death of Hastings, taken Jane Shore into his keeping, and according to this proclamation had been guilty of many other acts of immorality.

Richard, meanwhile, had been collecting forces, and advancing toward the west of England. Buckingham [was betrayed, and] on his capture was brought to Salisbury, and the king gave orders for his instant execution. Richard acted wisely in refusing him an interview, for which he made urgent request; for it seems that he intended to have stabbed him to the heart.

The capture and death of Buckingham completely put an end to the rebellion. Dorset and some of the other leaders at once abandoned all hope of resistance, and fled to Brittany. A few others were taken and executed—among the rest Sir Thomas St. Leger, who had married the Duchess of Exeter, the king's sister; but the common people were spared. The Earl of Richmond set sail from Brittany, but met with a storm in mid-channel, which dispersed his ships; and though his own vessel neared the coast at Poole and at Plymouth, he could obtain no satisfactory assurance of a friendly reception on landing. He therefore hoisted sail and recrossed the sea.—GAIRDNER.

#### PLOTTING FOR THE SECOND INVASION.

Meanwhile, the Earl of Richmond was busy preparing for a second attempt at invasion. On Christmas-day he had held a meeting with his principal adherents in Rennes Cathedral, where he took oath to marry the Princess Elizabeth as soon as he should obtain possession of the crown. Richard made application to the Duke of Brittany to deliver him up into his hands; but the earl, having received warning, escaped into the dominions of Charles VIII., the new King of France, who had just succeeded his father, Louis XI., where he was soon rejoined by about three hundred of his followers. Richard, however, endeavored to defeat his designs in another way. He summoned a council of the lords spiritual and temporal, then in London, [1484,] together with the lord mayor and aldermen of the city, and took oath in their presence that if the five daughters of "Dame Elizabeth Grey" (meaning by that name the Queen

Dowager, whom he no longer recognized as such) would come out of sanctuary, and place themselves under his protection, he would not only assure them of life and liberty, but provide them with husbands as they came of age, and give each of them a marriage portion of the value of two hundred marks a year. He also engaged to allow Elizabeth herself a pension of seven hundred marks a year for life. This offer the Queen Dowager and her daughters thought it well to accept, and accordingly came out of sanctuary. But whatever arts Richard used—cajolery, promises, bribes, or threats—to turn enemies into friends, or to defeat the plans of his opponents, they never were successful except partially and for a time. Sir Thomas More, a great wit and genius, who in those days was a child, but afterward wrote a life of King Richard from the information of persons then living, says of him [as already quoted on page 122] that “with large gifts he got him unsteadfast friendship, for which he was fain to pill and spoil in other places, and get him steadfast hatred.”—GAIRDNER.

#### RICHARD'S CONTEMPLATED MARRIAGE.

There came into his ungracious mind a thing not only detestable to be spoken of in the remembrance of man, but much more abominable and cruel to be put in execution; for when he resolved in his wavering mind how great a fountain of mischief toward him should spring if the Earl of Richmond should be advanced to the marriage of his niece, (which thing he heard say by the rumor of the people, that no small number of wise and witty persons enterprised to compass and bring to conclusion,) he clearly determined to reconcile to his favor his brother's wife, Queen Elizabeth, either by fair words or liberal promises, firmly believing, her favor once obtained, that she would not stick to commit and lovingly credit to him the rule and governance both of her and her daughters; and so by that means the Earl of Richmond of the affinity of his niece should be utterly defrauded and beguiled. And if no ingenious remedy could be otherwise invented to save the innumerable mischiefs which were even at hand and like to fall, if it should happen Queen Anne, his wife, to depart out of this present world, then he himself would rather take to wife his cousin and niece, the Lady Elizabeth, than for lack of that affinity the whole realm should run to ruin, as who said, that if he once fell from his estate and dignity, the ruin of the realm must needs shortly ensue and follow. Wherefore he sent

to the queen, being in sanctuary, divers and often messages, which first should excuse and purge him of all things before against her attempted and procured, and after should so largely promise promotions innumerable and benefits, not only to her, but also to her son Lord Thomas, Marquis Dorset, that they should bring her, if it were possible, into some wanhope, or, as some men say, into a fool's paradise. The messengers, being men both of wit and gravity, so persuaded the queen, with great and frequent reasons, then with fair and large promises, that she began somewhat to relent, and to give to them no deaf ear, insomuch that she faithfully promised to submit and yield herself fully and frankly to the king's will and pleasure.—**HOLINSHED.**

#### PREPARATION TO RESIST THE INVASION.

By repeated proclamations Richard called upon his subjects to resist the intended invasion of Richmond with all their force. He denounced the earl and his followers as men who had forsaken their true allegiance and put themselves in subjection to the French king. He pointed out that owing to the illegitimacy of the Beauforts Henry could have no claim to the crown, and that even on the father's side he was come of bastard blood. He declared that he had bargained to give up forever all claims hitherto made by the kings of England either to the crown of France, the duchy of Normandy, Gascony, or even Calais. Richmond, however, had sent messages into England by which he was assured of a considerable amount of support; and he borrowed money from the king of France with which he fitted out a small fleet at Harfleur and embarked for Wales, where his uncle possessed great influence.

Richard, knowing of the intended invasion, but being uncertain where his enemy might land, had taken up his position in the center of the kingdom. Following a plan first put in use by his brother Edward during the Scotch war, he had stationed messengers at intervals of twenty miles along all the principal roads to the coast to bring him early intelligence. But Henry landed at Milford Haven at the farthest extremity of South Wales, where, perhaps, Richard had least expected him; and so small was the force by which he was accompanied that the news did not at first give the king very much anxiety. He professed great satisfaction that his adversary was now coming to bring matters to the test of battle. The earl, however, was among friends from the moment he landed.

Pembroke was his native town, and the inhabitants expressed their willingness to serve his uncle, the Earl of Pembroke, as their natural and immediate lord. The very men whom Richard had placed to keep the country against him at once joined his party, and he passed on to Shrewsbury with little or no opposition.

#### RICHARD BETRAYED.

The king's "unsteadfast friendships" on the other hand were now rapidly working his ruin. His own attorney-general, Morgan Kidwelly, had been in communication with the enemy before he landed. Richard, however, was very naturally suspicious of Lord Stanley, his rival's stepfather, who, though he was steward of the royal household, had asked leave shortly before the invasion to go home and visit his family in Lancashire. This the king granted only on condition that he would send his son, George Lord Strange, to him at Nottingham in his place. Lord Strange was accordingly sent to the king; but when the news arrived of Henry's landing, Richard desired the presence of his father also. Stanley pretended illness, an excuse which could not fail to increase the king's suspicions. His son at the same time made an attempt to escape, and being captured confessed that he himself and his uncle, Sir William Stanley, had formed a project with others to go over to the enemy: but he protested his father's innocence, and assured the king that he would obey the summons. He was made to understand that his own life depended on his doing so, and he wrote a letter to his father accordingly.

Richard having mustered his followers at Nottingham went on to Leicester to meet his antagonist, and encamped at Bosworth on the night of August 21. The Earl of Richmond had arrived near the same place with an army of five thousand men, which is supposed to have been not more than half that of the king. That day, however, Lord Stanley had come to the earl secretly at Atherstone to assure him of his support in the coming battle. He and his brother, Sir William, were each at the head of a force not far off, and were only temporizing to save the life of his son, Lord Strange. This information relieved Henry's mind of much anxiety, for at various times since he landed he had felt serious misgivings about the success of the enterprise. The issue was now to be decided on the following day.

Early in the morning [August 22] both parties prepared for the



battle. Richard arose before daybreak, much agitated, it is said, by dreadful dreams that had haunted his imagination in the night time. But he entered the field wearing his crown upon his head, and encouraged his troops with an eloquent harangue. There was, however, treason in his camp, and many of his followers were only seeking an opportunity to desert and take part with the enemy. A warning indeed had been conveyed by an unknown hand to his foremost supporter, the Duke of Norfolk, in the following rhyme, which was discovered the night before, written on the door of his tent:

"Jack of Norfolk, be not too bold,  
For Dickon, thy master, is bought and sold."

Lord Stanley, who had drawn up his men at about equal distance from both armies, received messages early in the morning from both leaders, desiring his immediate assistance. His policy, however, was to stand aloof to the very last moment, and he replied in each case that he would come at a convenient opportunity. Dissatisfied with this answer, Richard ordered his son to be beheaded, but was persuaded to suspend the execution of the order till the day should be decided.

#### THE BATTLE OF BOSWORTH.

After a discharge of arrows on both sides the armies soon came to a hand-to-hand encounter. Lord Stanley joined the earl in the midst of the engagement, and the Earl of Northumberland, on whose support Richard had relied, stood still with all his followers and looked on. The day was going hard against the king. Norfolk fell in the thickest of the fight, and his son, the Earl of Surrey, after fighting with great valor, was surrounded and taken prisoner. Richard endeavored to single out his adversary, whose position on the field was pointed out to him. He suddenly rushed upon Henry's body-guard and unhorsed successively two of his attendants, one of whom, the earl's standard-bearer, fell dead to the ground. The earl himself was in great danger, but that Sir William Stanley, who had hitherto abstained from joining the combat, now endeavored to surround the king with his force of three thousand men. Richard perceived that he was betrayed, and crying out "Treason! Treason!" endeavored only to sell his life as dearly as possible. Overpowered by numbers, he fell dead in the midst of his enemies.\*

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\* See "King Richard III.," Act v, Scene 3.

The battered crown that had fallen from Richard's head was picked up upon the field of battle, and Sir William Stanley placed it upon the head of the conqueror, who was saluted as king by his whole army. The body of Richard, on the other hand, was treated with a degree of indignity which expressed but too plainly the disgust excited in the minds of the people by his inhuman tyranny. It was stripped naked and thrown upon a horse, a halter being placed around the neck, and in that fashion carried into Leicester, where it was buried with little honor in the Grey Friars' Church.—  
GAIRDNER.

SPEECH OF KING HENRY VII. AFTER THE BATTLE OF BOSWORTH  
FIELD.

Proclaim a pardon to the soldiers fled  
That in submission will return to us:  
And then, as we have ta'en the sacrament,  
We will unite the white rose and the red:  
Smile heaven upon this fair conjunction,  
That long have frowned upon their enmity!  
What traitor hears me, and says not amen?  
England hath long been mad, and scarred herself:  
The brother blindly shed the brother's blood,  
The father rashly slaughtered his own son,  
The son, compelled, been butcher to the sire:  
All this divided York and Lancaster,  
Divided in their dire division.  
Oh, now, let Richmond and Elizabeth,  
The true succeders of each royal house,  
By God's fair ordinance conjoin together!  
And let their heirs, God, if thy will be so,  
Enrich the time to come with smooth-faced peace,  
With smiling plenty and fair prosperous days!  
Abate the edge of traitors, gracious Lord,  
That would reduce these bloody days again,  
And make poor England weep in streams of blood!  
Let them not live to taste this land's increase  
That would with treason wound this fair land's peace!  
Now civil wounds are stopped, peace lives again:  
That she may long live here, God say—Amen!

*King Richard III., Act v, Scene 5.*

## CHARACTER OF RICHARD III.

It is unnecessary to attempt now anything like a sketch of Richard's character; the materials for a clear delineation are very scanty, and it has long been a favorite topic for theory and for paradox. There can, however, be little doubt of his great ability, of his clear knowledge of the policy which under ordinary circumstances would have secured his throne, and of the force and energy of will which, put to a righteous use, might have made for him a great name. The popularity which he had won before his accession, in Yorkshire especially, where there was no love for the House of York before, proves that he was not without the gifts which gained for Edward IV. the life-long support of the nation. The craft and unscrupulousness with which he carried into effect his great adventure, are not more remarkable than the policy and the constitutional inventiveness with which he concealed the several steps of his progress. Brave, cunning, resolute, clear-sighted, bound by no ties of love or gratitude, amenable to no instincts of mercy or kindness, Richard III. yet owes the general condemnation with which his life and reign have been visited, to the fact that he left behind him none whose duty or whose care it was to attempt his vindication. The House of Lancaster, to be revived only in a bastard branch, loathed him as the destroyer of the sainted king and his innocent son. The House of York had scarcely less grievance against him as the destroyer of Clarence, the oppressor of the queen, the murderer, as men said, of her sons. England, taken by surprise at the usurpation, never fully accepted the yoke. The accomplices of the crime mistrusted him from the moment they placed him on the throne. Yet viewed beside Edward IV. he seems to differ rather in fortune than in desert. He might have reigned well if he could have rid himself of the entanglements under which he began to reign, or have cleared his conscience from the stain which his usurpation and its accompanying cruelties brought upon it.—STUBBS.

## CONCLUSION.

It is necessary, as the border-land is thus reached between modern civilization and that of the Middle Ages, to say a few words on the political condition of the nation, which allowed of the establishment of the personal monarchy of the Tudors, and of the social

state of the people from which modern forms of civilization were to spring.

During the earlier part of the Lancastrian rule, Parliament, and especially the House of Commons, had apparently continued to rise in power. The constitutional growth of the fourteenth century had been continued. The Commons had secured the unquestioned right of originating money bills, not to be altered by the House of Lords, nor discussed in the presence of the king. They had secured the right not only of recommending in petitions, but also of joining as an equal estate of the realm in the passing of laws. They had succeeded during the reign of Henry VI. in preventing any changes in the form of their petitions, (which had not unfrequently been introduced when, after the session, the petition was enrolled,) by bringing in complete statutes, called bills, to be rejected or accepted as a whole, instead of their old petitions. They had, in several instances, practiced unquestioned the right of impeachment, and claimed, with some degree of success, the freedom of their members from arrest, even during the recess of Parliament. But in spite of this apparent advance, the real power of the Parliament before the close of the Wars of the Roses had almost disappeared.

A statute in the eighth year of Henry VI. limited the franchise, with regard to the election of knights of the shire, to freeholders of lands or tenements to the value of forty shillings. This at once gave an aristocratic tone to the house. In addition to this it had become the fashion both of the nobility and of the crown to tamper with the elections. With the new restricted franchise, the power of local magnates in the county elections was predominant, while, as regards the boroughs, the sheriffs exercised a power of summoning burgesses from such towns only as they pleased, and it was not difficult for the crown or ruling party to bring the sheriffs under their influence. While the House of Commons thus lost its independence, the old upper house had been virtually destroyed, and the new nobility was by its very nature dependent on the crown.

Another most important element of freedom had likewise disappeared. The great churchmen, to whom the liberties of England owe so much, had been victorious over their enemies the Lollards. In the struggle they had lost their sympathy with the people. Their desire for the spiritual welfare of the country had shriveled to a selfish eagerness for the preservation of orthodoxy. They had been drawn into closer communication with Rome, and had begun

to share its interests. Cardinal Beaufort, in spite of all oppositions, had succeeded in retaining his Roman rank, and it had become habitual that the Archbishop of Canterbury at least should bear the title of cardinal. Wealthy, worldly, and self-seeking, the leaders of the clergy were inclined to devote themselves to political life; and, conscious of the alienation of the lower orders, and fearing for their property, which had already excited the envy of the laity, and which, while confiscation was reducing the nobles to beggary, had remained almost untouched, they sought employment and safety in becoming the devoted servants of the king.

At the same time that the practical efficiency of the Parliament had been decreasing, the power of the king's council had been on the increase. The limits of its rights, springing as it did from the *concilium ordinarium* of the Plantagenet kings, had always been questionable, and its encroachments, in meddling with the petitions of the lower house, and in issuing ordinances without the consent of Parliament, which had yet the authority of temporary laws, had been constantly objected to by the Commons. The long minority of Henry VI., during which the chief direction of the Government had been almost unavoidably in the hands of the council, had tended greatly to increase its power.

Nevertheless, though constitutional growth had been checked, and the Commons had politically lost ground, the Wars of the Roses did not produce that complete exhaustion and depopulation of the country which might have been expected. The population appears to have been little, if at all, decreased; the number of inhabitants was still between three and four millions. In fact, it must be remembered that the broken hostilities of these wars did not on the whole amount to much more than three years of actual warfare; that the armies were in the field only for short consecutive periods, were usually few in number, and composed of untrained men, who returned, immediately their short service was over, to the cultivation of the fields. Thus the destruction and turbulence seemed to pass over the head of the great bulk of the population.

Nor is this all. During the whole continuance of the war the ordinary apparatus of justice was uninterrupted; courts were held, and judges went their circuit as usual. Indeed, it would seem to have been a period of unusual litigation, attended no doubt often with violence. For as property rapidly changed hands, the title to it became insecure, and the process therefore by which a title was

questioned was frequently the violent dispossession of the present holder. But still it was to the courts of law that the ultimate appeal was made. Again, although the loss of France and the exclusive attention to home politics greatly diminished the national strength upon the sea, trade does not appear to have been seriously damaged. At all events, it was so kept alive that upon the establishment of peace it revived with fresh vigor; and we are told that Edward IV. himself engaged in the pursuit. This trait is characteristic, not only of the man, but of the time. The pursuit of trade had risen greatly in estimation; great traders had become nobles, and Suffolk, the prime minister, was an example of the height to which such families might rise. From the decay of noble families, and other more permanent causes, land had been necessarily brought into the market. Wealthy traders had purchased it, set up for landowners, and aimed at the dignity of knighthood. At the same time, the secondary gentry of the country, taking advantage of the decline of the nobility, found means in the midst of the disturbances to increase their property and influence. In spite, therefore, of the apparent insignificance of Parliament, the middle classes were in a vigorous and improving condition.

Lower down in the social scale the case was somewhat different. Serfdom had indeed almost disappeared, and existed only here and there in isolated cases. Free labor for wages had become general, and land was largely held by payment of money rents. Thus far there was improvement. But the change from slavery to personal freedom is always purchased at a somewhat heavy price—that price is the existence of poverty; it is no longer incumbent on employers to look after the well-being of free laborers; in time of want they are thrown upon their own resources. The new possessors of the soil, too, were inclined to work it to better profit than their predecessors had done; grazing became more common, and employment proportionately scarcer. The unemployed laborer had two courses open to him: he might betake himself to the towns, or join the ranks of the rapidly-increasing class of beggars. He there found himself in company of numbers of idle and needy men, who took advantage of the disturbed state of the country. Discharged soldiers and sailors, and vagabonds who called themselves traveling scholars, were so plentiful, that as there was as yet no poor law in existence, stringent enactments were made against them. The number of those punished for crimes of lawlessness and violence

was enormous. Fortescue describes with pride how the poor Englishman, seeing others possess what he wanted, would never scruple to take it by violence, rather than be without it. Those of the unemployed laborers who preferred to seek the towns went to increase the crowd of journeymen, whose position could not have been very enviable.

For the guild system was breaking down, and giving place to the more modern arrangements of unlimited competition. The craft guilds, which in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries had triumphed over the merchant guilds and aristocratic citizens of the towns, had speedily begun to deteriorate. The object for which they were founded was to secure for all members of the craft a fair chance of livelihood, without the danger of destructive competition. This object implied that the guild was co-extensive with the trade, and that its members were themselves craftsmen, carrying on their work with their own hands, with the assistance of apprentices. But a crowd of enfranchised villains and unemployed laborers had gathered in the towns, and formed a class of journeymen or day-laborers, and the guild, originally a corporation of working men, changed gradually into an exclusive body of capitalists. Moreover, even within their own limits, their principles had failed as early as the reign of Edward III. We hear, for instance, of certain pepperers, who, separating themselves from their guild, became grocers (grossers) or general dealers. In other words, as individuals accumulated capital, they refused to have their enterprise limited by the guild laws; and thus setting up as independent capitalists, began to introduce the same relations between employer and employed as exist at present. Under these circumstances the unincorporated journeymen found the restrictions of the guild an obstacle in the way of advance, and were exposed to all the evils of an eager competition.

While thus the political position of the different orders was giving room for a temporary establishment of almost absolute monarchy, but at the same time allowing the formation of that middle class which was to overthrow it, and while the exclusive system of the Middle Ages was giving way to the modern relations of labor, the new culture, the existence of which more than any thing else separates the Middle Ages from modern times, was beginning to make its way. As the leader in this direction, Humphrey of Gloucester may be mentioned. In spite of his turbulent and disorderly

character, he was a sincere lover of literature. He was in communication with several of the greater Italian scholars. More than one classical translation was dedicated to him. He carried his love of inquiry so far that he is believed to have dabbled in magical arts; and it is generally reported that his books, which he left to Oxford, were the nucleus of the present great library there. He did not stand alone in his literary tastes. Tiptoft, the Earl of Worcester, was likewise impregnated with Italian learning, and among the newer nobles Lord Rivers gave distinguished patronage to the art of printing, which Caxton introduced into England in the year 1469. Altogether, it would seem that among the upper classes the rudiments of learning were beginning to be widely spread, and that the laity were gradually becoming sufficiently cultivated to rival the Churchmen, and to take their proper part in the government of the country. It may be observed, as an indication of this, that Henry VI.'s reign was marked by the foundation of Eton, and that several considerable colleges were founded both in Oxford and Cambridge during the century. It is probable that these were chiefly intended as defenses for orthodoxy, the teaching being as yet confined to the worst form of scholasticism.

It is strange, immediately after the great Civil War, and before the outbreak of nautical energy under the reign of Queen Elizabeth, to meet with constant complaints of the degeneracy of the English as soldiers. But it seems as if changes in the military system, and the love of money and luxury which accompanied the *renaissance*, were really producing their effects. Archery was giving way to the use of gunpowder; and we meet with statutes fixing the price of bows, and enacting general practice of archery, which clearly show that the use of the national weapon had to be artificially fostered. There was considerable difficulty in collecting a sufficiency of troops before the battle of Bosworth, and Caxton writes to Richard III. a deplorable account of the decay of knighthood, to be cured, as he thinks, by the re-introduction of tournaments, and the perusal of chivalrous romances. A change in warfare was, in fact, going on in Europe, which called into existence abroad standing armies, and the effect of which was felt in England, though circumstances postponed the establishment of a regular army some time longer. It was thus amid the general weakness in all classes except the Crown, and during the development of great social changes, that the Tudor sovereigns found it possible to establish that peculiar personal mon-



archy which occupies the transition period between mediæval and modern times, and under the shadow of which the various classes regained strength for the subsequent re-establishment of the constitution.—BRIGHT.

PARALLELISM BETWEEN ENGLISH AND FRENCH HISTORY IN  
THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

There is at once a parallelism and a contrast during this period between the career of England and that of France. At no time were the fortunes of the two nations more closely linked together. The very same events form, during a considerable part of the fifteenth century, the leading features in the history of both. But the same events have in either case an opposite significance. The triumph of the one country was the abasement of the other, and the recovery of the second was accompanied by the demoralization of the first. There is, moreover, quite an extraordinary amount of coincidence, and at the same time contrast, between the circumstances by which the contemporary kings of England and of France were surrounded during the whole period of our narrative. The reign of Charles VI., who came to the throne just three years after Richard II., corresponds to those of three successive kings in England. At his accession he and Richard were both under age; but Charles led his armies in person when he was fourteen, while Richard, though not deficient in courage, seldom asserted himself in any way except at a crisis like Wat Tyler's rebellion. The complaint in Richard's case was that he allowed himself to be governed by favorites; which was perfectly true at those times when he was not coerced by his uncles. Toward the end of his reign, however, Richard, weary of his long subjection, laid claim to absolute power; while Charles about the same time became deranged and was obliged to surrender the government to his uncles. After this the French court became divided by factions which left the kingdom an easy prey to the invader; and the same king who, when a boy, had alarmed all England by the fleet he had collected at Sluys, was obliged in his latter days to make an English king his heir and invest him with all the powers of royalty to the exclusion of his own son.

But the parallelism of which we have spoken is more striking after the death of Charles VI., when by a singular coincidence the

